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THE

REFORMATION IN EUROPE.

BY

THE AUTHOR

OF

"THE COUNCIL OF TRENT."

Cramp, John Mockett 1796-188

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Southern California Conference Methodist Historical Society

THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Rise and progress of the corruptions of Christianity.

Every one who is acquainted with the uninspired productions of even the early christian writers, is compelled to admit the marked difference between them and the books of the New Testament; a difference, not merely arising from the fact that inspiration had ceased, and with it the divine style peculiar to those "holy men of God" who spake and wrote "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost;" but indicating the adoption of sentiments and practices for which no authority is found in the word of the Lord.

The apostle Paul prophesied of these times. He foresaw the flood of corruption, and forewarned the church of its approach: see 2 Thess. 2; 1 Tim. 4: 1–3; 2 Tim. 3: 1–5. His words were verified. The state of religion, during the second and third centuries, exhibits melancholy proof of

a gradual departure from the simplicity of the Gospel. In perusing the memorials of the times preceding the Council of Nice, we observe the various developments of error and will-worship, and learn the importance of simple adhesion to Scripture. These memorials are faithful records of the progress of opinions; but the opinions themselves must be brought to the infallible test, that we may "prove all things," and "hold fast that which is good." 1 Thess. 5 : 21. Tradition embodies the vagaries of the wayward mind of man: the Bible, and the Bible only, contains the word of God.

It will be useful to fix on some important events in church history, and point out the changes that had taken place at their respective dates. The Council of Nice may be first mentioned. That celebrated assembly was held A. D. 324. Its principal object was the suppression of Arianism. To secure that object, the Nicene Creed was framed, subscribed by the bishops and published as the standard declaration of the faith of the church; while the emperor Constantine performed his part, by banishing Arius and all who adhered to him. This was the beginning of much mischief. Hitherto christians had been persecuted, and the church had thriven in the storm. The sun of prosperity was now shining on her; she was basking in imperial favor; but she bartered her freedom and purity for gold, and, becoming an oppressor,

sought to defend the truth by the hand of power and the weapons of worldly warfare. This policy was not learned from Christ. "My kingdom," the Savior said, "is not of this world: if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." John, 18 : 36.

But at this era a very considerable departure from apostolic purity was discernible. Instead of regarding the inspired writings as the sole depository of truth, professing christians had acted as though the Bible were only one of the sources of religious knowledge. The opinions held by pagan philosophers were in many respects utterly incompatible with the New Testament, and could not be held by believers in Christ without surrendering important christian principles. It cannot be too deeply deplored that christianity was modified and mingled with philosophy, and that the simple worship celebrated by the first christians was quickly corrupted by the introduction of rites and forms borrowed from Jewish or heathen observances. The consequences were fatally injurious. It was a dark day for the church.

The administration of baptism was connected with many ceremonies, which were gradually introduced, and deemed operative as well as significant. The candidate was anointed with oil, marked with the sign of the cross, presented, in some places, with milk and honey, and for several days after his baptism was attired in white gar-

ments. The Lord's supper began to be called a sacrifice, the table was termed an altar, and the minister a priest who offered on it. This led to another innovation: christian ministers were looked upon as substitutes for the priests of the law, or of paganism; and, therefore, the name as well as the office was appropriated to them. Baptism and the Lord's supper were treated as ordinances conferring salvation. Incautious language, used in reference to the latter, paved the way afterwards for the monstrous figment of transubstantiation. The power of the bishops was continually increasing. As their flocks grew larger, more ministers were required to instruct them, on whom the duty of implicit obedience to the bishop was carefully enjoined. The frequent assembling of provincial synods tended to consolidate episcopal power, inasmuch as on those occasions canons of discipline were framed, which all the churches of the district were expected to obey. The seeds of the Romish primacy were also sown at this period. An ascending scale of ecclesiastical dignity was invented, answering to the political divisions of the empire. The bishop of the chief city of a province was styled a metropolitan, and took the first place among his brethren. If the city was not only the metropolis of the province, but also the seat of government for one of the larger divisions of the empire, the bishop of that city assumed a more extensive jurisdiction, which was afterwards

called a patriarchate. Thus the Council of Nice decided that the bishop of Alexandria should have under him all Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; as, in like manner, the bishop of Antioch presided over the eastern provinces, and the Roman bishop over Italy and some other provinces in the west. As Rome was the ancient metropolis of the whole empire, it will be easily perceived that these arrangements were likely to prove the germ of an extensive and pernicious usurpation. To these notices may be added the extravagant honors paid to martyrs, the anniversaries of whose deaths were celebrated by religious services; the observance of numerous fasts and festivals; the invention of new offices and degrees in the ministry; the severe, degrading, and unscriptural penances, or punishments, inflicted on offenders against the laws of the church; and the rise of the monastic system. The results of the whole present a fearful picture.

Referring to this period, Milner says: "If we look at the external appearance of christianity, nothing can be more splendid. An emperor, full of zeal for the propagation of the only divine religion, by edicts restores to the church every thing of which it had been deprived; indemnifies those who had suffered; honors the pastors exceedingly; recommends to governors of provinces to promote the Gospel; and though he will neither oblige them nor any others to profess it, yet he forbids

them to make use of the sacrifices commonly made by prefects. He erects churches exceedingly sumptuous and ornamental, with distinctions of the parts, corresponding in some measure to those in Solomon's temple; discovers with much zeal the sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem, real or pretended, and honors it with a most expensive sacred edifice. His mother, Helena, fills the whole Roman world with her munificent acts in support of religion; and, after erecting churches and travelling from place to place to evidence her zeal, dies before her son, aged eighty years. Nor is the christian cause neglected, even out of the bounds of the Roman empire: Constantine zealously pleads, in a letter to Sapor, king of Persia, for the christians of his dominions. He destroys idol temples; prohibits impious pagan rites; puts an end to the savage fights of gladiators; stands up with respectful silence to hear the sermon of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, the historian; furnishes him with the volumes of the Scriptures for the use of the churches; orders the observation of the festivals of martyrs; has prayers and reading of the Scriptures at his court; dedicates churches with great solemnity; makes christian orations himself, one of which, of a considerable length, is preserved by the historian, his favorite bishop; directs the sacred observation of the Lord's day, to which he adds that of Friday also, the day of Christ's crucifixion.

"It may seem invidious to throw any shade on this picture: but though the abolition of lewd, impious, and inhuman customs must have been of great advantage to society; and though the benefits of christianity, compared with paganism, to the world appear very strong by these means; yet all this, if sound principle be wanting, is but form and shadow.

"The great defectiveness of doctrine failed not to influence practice as usual. External piety flourished; monastic societies, in particular places, were also growing; but faith, love, heavenly-mindedness appear very rare. Yet among the poor and obscure christians I hope there was far more godliness than could be seen at courts and among bishops and persons of eminence. The doctrine of real conversion was very much lost, or external baptism was placed in its stead; and the true doctrine of justification by faith, and the true practical use of a crucified Savior for troubled consciences, were scarcely to be seen at this time. There was much outward religion; but this could not make men saints in heart and life. The worst part of the character of Constantine is, that as he grew older he grew more culpable—oppressive in his own family, oppressive to the government, oppressive by eastern superfluous magnificence; and the facts to be displayed will show how little true humility and charity were now known in the christian world: while superstition and self-righ-

teousness were making vigorous shoots, and the real Gospel of Christ was hidden from men who professed it." History of the Church, cent. 4, chapter 2.

We pass on to the time of Gregory I. bishop of Rome, commonly called Gregory the Great. He died A. D. 604. In the period intervening between the Council of Nice and his death rapid strides had been made in the establishment of ecclesiastical domination, and the assimilation of christian to heathen worship in many points. The bishops acquired the supreme direction of affairs. Another power, too, was fast gathering strength, to which *they* were, in the first instance, compelled to yield, and whose usurpations they afterwards upheld and defended as an integral part of the system. The bishops of Rome watched every opportunity for new aggressions, and skilfully availed themselves of such events as might afford them fresh pretexts for advancing their claims to dominion. Their city had long formed the central point of communication on all subjects, and from all parts of the world. The rival metropolis, Constantinople, it is true, drew off a large portion of the benefits formerly accruing to Rome, presenting greater attractions to the aspirants after wealth and honor. Nevertheless, the great city continued to command universal respect. The very circumstance just alluded to—the removal of the imperial residence, proved in

the issue favorable to the development of papal ambition. It gave rise to a new assumption. The principal glory of the ancient city now was, that it had been the scene of apostolic labors and sufferings. It was the city of Peter and Paul. Those great apostles, so ran the tradition, had founded the Roman church. Its bishops were their successors. The superiority of those bishops over their brethren, at first pleaded for on the ground of the metropolitan dignity of the city, was ultimately founded on that fiction, and Rome's usurped rule rests on it to the present day. The process was slow, but sure. First, the occurrence of disputes, or the introduction of heresies, induced distant bishops to ask advice of their brother at Rome. He took advantage of the deference paid him, and soon began to shape his counsels in the form of decrees, to which he required prompt obedience. Another step was taken by the Council of Laodicea, A. D. 347, which sanctioned appeals to the bishop of Rome, who, in such cases, might order a new examination of the cause in question by the neighboring bishops, and send a member of his own church as his representative or legate, and assessor with them in judgment. It may be readily conceived that admirable facilities for aggrandizement were thereby offered to politic and ambitious men. The removal of the seat of government from Rome to Ravenna, A. D. 405, and the destruction of the western Roman em-

pire, A. D. 476, were events that still further enhanced the dignity of the occupants of the apostolic see. The bishop became the principal man in the city, and, in effect, its governor; for though the civic power seemed still to retain the supremacy, the superstitious reverence with which the successor of the apostles was regarded, placed the reins actually in his hands. Under the management of such men as Innocent I., Leo the Great, and Gregory, successive steps were taken, till at length the man of Rome held the sceptre of dominion, controlling and overruling the whole ecclesiastical body.

The state of religion at this time may be described in few words. In the proper acceptation of the term, godliness scarcely existed. The spiritual was sacrificed to the carnal. Barbarian devastation had swept away learning, art, and, to a great extent, civilization itself; while, amid the prevailing ignorance and brutishness of the people, the priesthood acquired increasing influence, and erected their throne on the ruins of knowledge, morals, and piety. The sacraments were loaded with additional ceremonies: many of them were invented and first brought into use by Gregory the Great, who may indeed be considered the father of the pompous ritual of Rome. Martyrs and saints were increasingly adored. Churches were built in their honor. Their tombs were the resort of pilgrims. Their relics (bones, teeth,

hair, rags, and such like) were held in high veneration, deposited in churches, exhibited to the gaze of the people, and made the instruments of many a lying wonder.* Monasteries studded all

* Gregory was enthusiastic in his reverence for relics. The empress Constantina had built a church at Constantinople in honor of the apostle Paul, and requested Gregory to send her the apostle's head or some portion of his body to deposit in the church. In his reply, Gregory states that "he neither could nor dared to grant that favor; for the bodies of the holy apostles, Peter and Paul, are so resplendent with miracles and terrific prodigies in their own churches, that no one can approach them without great awe, even for the purpose of adoring them. When my predecessor, of happy memory, wished to change some silver ornament which was placed over the most holy body of St. Peter, though at the distance of almost fifteen feet, a warning of no small terror appeared to him. Even I myself wished to make some alteration near the most holy body of St. Paul, and it was necessary to dig rather deeply near his tomb. The superior of the place found some bones which were not at all connected with that tomb, and, having presumed to disturb and remove them to some other place, he was visited by certain fearful apparitions, and died suddenly. . . . . Be it then known to you, that it is the custom of the Romans, when they give any relics, not to venture to touch any portion of the body; only they put into a box a piece of linen, (called *brandeum*,) which is placed near the holy bodies: then it is withdrawn, and shut up with due veneration in the church which is to be dedicated; and as many prodigies are then wrought by it as if the bodies themselves had been carried thither. Whence it happened, that in the time of St. Leo, (as we learn from our ancestors,) when some Greeks doubted the virtue of such relics, that pope called for a pair of scissors, and cut the linen, and blood flowed from the incision. . . . . But, that your religious desire may not be wholly frustrated, I will hasten to send to you some part of those

lands, filled with beings who vainly sought to acquire merit before God by living in disobedience to his own laws, and enduring severities which he had neither enjoined nor sanctioned. Literature was at a very low ebb. Education was chiefly confined to frivolous or useless attainments. Donations to churches and monasteries were held to atone for the worst crimes. The priests profited by the vices of the people. Heathen festivals were retained under christian names; and "excess of riot" disgraced those holy days, the institution of which abridged the time given to man to earn his daily bread, encouraged idleness and beggary, and defrauded God of his own Sabbath. To crown the whole, men were taught to expect sharp purgatorial pains after death; an invention most cunningly contrived to rivet the chains of bondage and fill the coffers of the church. For who would be niggardly to the priest, when it

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chains which St. Paul wore on his neck and hands, if, indeed, I shall succeed in getting off any filings from them. For since many continually solicit, as a blessing, that they may carry off from those chains some small portion of their filings, a priest stands by with a file; and sometimes it happens that some portions fall off from the chains instantly, and without delay; while, at other times, the file is long drawn over the chains, and yet nothing is at last scraped off from them." Waddington's History of the Church, p. 152. Such were the follies of Gregory, called the Great, a man who is one of the principal saints of the Romish church, and whose name is often mentioned by many Protestants with great respect.

was said to be only by his intercession that the soul could be rescued from the gloomy prison? Resistance to the church exposed the hapless mortal who was guilty of the crime to the fierce vengeance of the state. The alleged heretic (oftentimes far more orthodox and christian than his accusers) was turned over to the civil power and treated most mercilessly. The Theodosian code was written in blood: its punishments for heresy and schism would have satisfied Draco himself. Alas! how changed was the state of the body still calling itself the church of God! What a mournful contrast between the times of the apostles and those of Gregory the Great!*

* The case of Vigilantius furnishes a melancholy illustration of the remarks in the text. That good man was a reformer. He "denied the sanctity of relics, refused to worship and burn lights at the tombs of martyrs, and to invocate saints; disapproved of vows of celibacy, of pilgrimages, and of nocturnal watchings in cemeteries; doubted the presence of departed spirits at the places where their bodies were buried; questioned the tales of miracles said to have been wrought at the sepulchres of the martyrs; and protested against the imputed efficacy of prayers, either *for or to* the dead." For the expression of these opinions he was pursued by Jerome with unrelenting malice. The vocabulary of scurrility was exhausted in the controversy. The only wonder was that Vigilantius escaped without suffering personal violence. "He came off very well, if he suffered no greater harm than to be called *Fool, Blockhead, Madman, Demoniac, Lunatic, Heretic, Arian, Eunomian, Samaritan, Jew, Pagan, Infidel, Apostate, Blasphemer, Calumniator, Despiser of Martyrs, Bishops and Emperors, Glutton, Sot, Liar, Ass,* and *Dog.*" Jortin's re-

The next step will be to the age of Gregory VII. the celebrated Hildebrand. He became pope A. D. 1073. The intervening period was an age of dense darkness. The people were immersed in gross ignorance, and none cared for their souls. If they honored the Virgin Mary and the saints, paid all ecclesiastical dues, and yielded implicit submission to the dictates of the priests, it was enough. The public services of the church became of little interest to them, being conducted in Latin, a change which was gradually introduced, and at length universally enjoined. The effect of it was to insulate the priests from the people, destroy the social character of christian worship, and exalt the ecclesiastics to an eminence which christianity never prepared for them, constituting them mediators between God and man, and thus obscuring the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ. The exaltation of the clergy was manifestly the main object of pursuit during the times now under review. It had been greatly encouraged by the so-called conversion of the Goths, Vandals, Franks, and other barbarous tribes who successively invaded the Roman empire. Accustomed to the domination of the pagan priests, and to consider religion as the especial business of the priesthood, they transferred those notions to the

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marks on Ecclesiastical History, i. 348. Gilly's Waldenses, Valdo and Vigilantius, p. 66.

christianity which they professed to embrace, and were content to lavish their treasures on the church, and support any form of folly that was set before them, so that they were assured of being saved harmless, as they vainly expected to be, in their spiritual concerns. As a necessary consequence, clerical tyranny and exaction increased continually. Churches and monasteries abounded with wealth. The clergy obtained exemption from the authority of the civil magistrate, and were declared amenable only to their bishops; while the bishops were not only invested with supreme power over the clergy, but were also allowed to take cognizance of causes between laymen, if one of the parties in a dispute appealed to them. Clerical celibacy gained ground everywhere, and was rigidly enforced, as far as possible, by the superior ecclesiastical authorities. Gregory VII. mainly devoted his energies to the attainment of this, his favorite object. No one can wonder that the standard of character among the professed ministers of the church was become extremely low. The temptations to vice were so powerful, and immunity from the consequences of crime so easy to be obtained, that nothing but genuine piety could have preserved men from gross delinquencies. Real piety, it has been already stated, was little known and practised. The descriptions of the prophet were fully applicable to the state of morals and religion in the

middle ages. "None calleth for justice, nor any pleadeth for truth: they trust in vanity, and speak lies; they conceive mischief, and bring forth iniquity. Their feet run to evil, and they make haste to shed innocent blood: their thoughts are thoughts of iniquity; wasting and destruction are in their paths. Judgment is turned away backward, and justice standeth afar off: for truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter. Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey." Isa. 59 : 4, 7, 14, 15.

The image controversy became prominent in these times. For many years there had been a growing tendency to idolatrous worship, in the form of honor to the pictures or images of the saints. It was looked on with suspicion by some, and feebly reprobated.* But idolatrous practices went on gathering strength, and daily enlisting fresh votaries. Paganism was reviving in the form of christianity. Though gods and heroes were no longer adored, saints took their places;

* Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, had taken down and destroyed some images which had been placed in the churches, because the people worshipped them. Gregory the Great reproved him for it. He told him that images might be allowed, as books for the ignorant and the barbarian, who could not read, "that they might see what they ought to follow." It was only necessary to warn the people not to worship them. This was dangerous doctrine, as the result proved. Men were not content to look at the images: they would "bow down" and adore.

and thus still the creature was "worshipped and served more than the Creator." Rom. 1 : 25. The eastern emperor, Leo III. endeavored to check the torrent by the interposition of the secular power. He published an edict, A. D. 726, prohibiting the worship of images. A furious contest followed. Fanatical monks took the field in defence of their idols. Curses loud and deep were reciprocally fulminated. Slaughter and ruin desolated the empire. The struggle lasted more than a century, during which interval each side had by turns the mastery. The Council of Constantinople, A. D. 754, declared against images; but another council, held in the same city, A. D. 787, pronounced in their favor. Both claimed to be general councils. The emperor Charlemagne opposed the idolatry of the age, and had the misfortune to meet with a pope, Leo III. as an antagonist. In the issue, however, evil triumphed. Man made his graven image, and bowed down to it, and served it. The abomination continues to this day, and will continue, till the Lord shall destroy the wicked one "with the spirit of his mouth, and with the brightness of his coming." 2 Thess. 2 : 8.

The rise of Mohammedism, and the lightning-like rapidity with which it was spread by force of arms, cannot but be regarded as a judgment on a backsliding and idolatrous people, whatever other objects are to be secured by the permission of the

cunning imposture. Persia, Syria, and other eastern countries, Egypt, Northern Africa, and Spain were ravaged by fire and sword; churches were plundered and destroyed, priests murdered, and the people reduced under a grinding tyranny. Yet they "repented not of the works of their hands, that they should not worship devils, and idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood; which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk: neither repented they of their murders, nor of their sorceries, nor of their fornication, nor of their thefts." Rev. 9 : 20, 21.

Papal power and influence continued to advance. In the year 606 Boniface III. received from the emperor Phocas the title of "universal bishop." In less than thirty years after, Theodore, one of his successors, affected to be called "sovereign pontiff." At first all bishops had been termed "popes," or fathers; but now the word was exclusively applied to the Roman prelate. And he suited the action to the word, dealing with all christendom as one spiritual family, of which he required to be regarded as the natural head. He claimed the right of universal control and supervision. Other bishops derived their power from him. In their disputes with princes, clergy, or people, they might appeal to his decisions; and, on the other hand, if princes, clergy, or people deemed themselves aggrieved by their bishops, they also were invited to lay their complaints at

the feet of their master at Rome. Thus all parties unconsciously exalted the power by which all were to be crushed. The exemption of the clergy from civil jurisdiction threw them more entirely into the hands of the pope; and the growing desire of the monastic orders to be freed from episcopal control, and subject only to Rome, tended mightily to confirm and enlarge the dominion of the apostolic see. Nothing but temporal power was wanted. It had been virtually possessed for some time; but, in the year 730 the Roman people formally constituted their bishop chief magistrate of the city. Twenty-six years afterwards, the exarchate of Ravenna, the last relic of the Constantinopolitan emperor's possessions in the west, was presented to the pope by Pepin of France, thus raising the bishop to the rank of an independent and sovereign prince. Other donations of territory followed. The little horn began to "speak great words against the Most High, and to wear out the saints of the Most High, and thought to change times and laws." Dan. 7 : 25. Usurpations grew and multiplied. The pope became daily more arrogant and ambitious. He intermeddled with every thing. He dictated laws and policy to kings, exacted from the people, and tyrannised over their spiritual guides, subduing them to his will. He sat "in the temple of God, showing himself that he was God." 2 Thess. 2 : 4; for he, and he only, could canonize saints, and

tell men whom and what to worship. Princes feared to contradict or thwart him, lest the terrible thunder of his excommunication should burst upon their heads, and hurl them to defenceless ruin. The weapons of the church, aided and impelled by the force of public opinion, were far too powerful for the monarchs of this world. However courageously they might make a show of resistance for a time, they were obliged in the end to yield. The history of Henry IV. of Germany, which is familiar to every reader of ecclesiastical history, furnishes a striking illustration of this remark.

Of all the assertors of papal prerogative, Gregory VII. was the most daring that had hitherto appeared. He had framed a scheme of universal empire. According to him, the saints, so-called, were literally to possess the kingdoms; and the head of the church was to be, at the same time, and to the same extent, lord of the world. Nor did he make any secret of his pretensions. Fairly and fully did he put them forward, urging them with a pertinacity worthy of a better cause. He died a martyr to his favorite dogma.*

* A. D. 1085. "He concluded a turbulent pontificate of twelve years, in misfortune, in exile, with little honor, with few lamentations; without having witnessed the perfect accomplishment of any portion of the project which had animated his existence, and even at the very moment when it appeared most hopeless. He died; but he left behind him a name which has arrest-

From the death of Gregory VII. to the end of the great western schism, A. D. 1429, a period of 344 years, the tyranny of the papacy continued to assume a fiercer tone, and to load men with yet more vexatious oppressions. The church (alas! that so venerable a name should be so misapplied) became daily more greedy of power and money. Nearly one-half of the wealth of Europe was in the hands of the ecclesiastics. In the times of such men as Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. the Romish yoke rested with galling and intolerable pressure on the necks of the people. The maxims of Hildebrand were acted on to the fullest extent. Mightiest princes were treated with proud disdain, and compelled to yield reluctant submission, through fear of excommunication and interdict. Like the insatiable horse-leech, the pope and the clergy perpetually cried, "Give, give;" offering, in exchange for the substantial possessions which

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ed with singular force the attention of history; which has been strangely disfigured, indeed, by her capricious partiality; but which has never been overlooked, and will never be forgotten. He did more than that; he left behind him his spirit, his example, and his principles; and they continued, through many successive generations, to agitate the policy and influence the destinies of the whole christian world." . . . . "His claims of temporal sovereignty, his usurpation of spiritual supremacy, his lofty bearing and pontifical arrogance were so widely at variance with the spirit of that book on which his church was originally founded, that we must either suppose him wholly to have disdained its precepts, or to have strangely misinterpreted them." Waldington's History of the Church, ch. 16.

they coveted, the imaginary blessings of remission of sins and deliverance from purgatorial pains. The avarice of the clerical order knew no bounds Benefice after benefice was heaped on the same person, in defiance of all ecclesiastical laws. The presentation to benefices was very commonly forestalled at Rome by an act of reservation; meaning thereby, that whenever the living should become vacant, the pope reserved to himself the right of presenting it to whomsoever he pleased. He had also secured the gift of all livings whose incumbents should die in certain months of the year, called the pope's months, (eight out of the twelve,) or should die at Rome. Such enormous patronage could not be safely placed in the power of one man, nor was it likely to be exercised with impartiality. Needy favorites put forward their claims, and in return for benefits received, exerted all their influence in support of the power to which they were indebted. Thus the giver and the receiver played the same unholy game; and the countries of Christendom suffered the loss, in the transfer of immense property to rapacious and unprincipled foreigners, the scandalous neglect of clerical duties, the corrupting effects of the vicious lives of ecclesiastics, and the universal prevalence of disorders of every kind.*

* The forgery of charters was no uncommon device in the middle ages. "The monks prostituted their knowledge of writing to the purpose of forging charters in their own favor, which might

The invention of the scholastic theology was another drawback on the spread of scriptural views. Subtle speculations amused the ingenious, "intruding into those things which they had not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds." Col. 2 : 18. Many of them were men of gigantic powers, but they grievously misapplied them, inquiring into essences and modes of existence, sporting with trifles, or proposing questions which no human intellect can solve; instead of humbly searching the word of God, that they might set before their fellow-men the truths of the great redemption.*

Additions continued to be made to the existing forms of will-worship. The sacraments were authoritatively pronounced to be seven in number: viz. baptism, confirmation, penance, the eucharist, orders, matrimony, and extreme unction. Men were taught to kneel at the elevation of the host in churches, and to place themselves in the same pos-

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easily impose upon an ignorant age, since it has required a peculiar science to detect them in modern times." Hallam's Middle Ages, fourth edition, ii. 204.

England was miserably fleeced by papal exactions. In the time of Gregory IX. A. D. 1227–1241, "the usurers of Cahors and Lombardy, residing in London, took up the trade of agency for the pope; and in a few years he is said, partly by levies of money, partly by revenues of benefices, to have plundered the kingdom of 950,000 marks; a sum equivalent, I think, to not less than fifteen millions sterling at present." Ibid. p. 306.

* See D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, book i. sect. 3.

ture in the streets, whenever the sacred elements were carried to the sick. The festival of Corpus Christi day was established.* Communion in one kind only became the general practice. The jubilee, first celebrated in the year 1300, proved a most gainful institution; and Rome found such a ready sale for her wares, and so many purchasers, that she quickly adopted the expedient of increasing the number of her market-days, which now return every twenty-five years.† The doctrine of indulgence was another artful contrivance for wheedling the rich out of their money, and confirming all the trickery of anti-christ. Instructed to believe that there is a sacred treasury, consisting of "the superabundant merits of Christ and the saints," and available for the benefit of all to whom the pope may please to apply it, on such conditions as he may choose to annex to the blessing, those conditions always including a pecuniary demand, men were eager to purchase remission of sins for themselves and their friends (for it reached even to the dead) on such terms, and

* A. D. 1264: confirmed by a General Council at Vienne, A. D. 1311. In popish countries this festival is celebrated with much pomp: the host is carried through the streets in solemn procession and universally adored.

† So much was collected at the jubilee in 1300, that two priests stood at the altar of St. Paul, with small rakes in their hands, gathering together "an infinite amount of money." Hallam's Middle Ages, ii. 322.

thought little of the expenditure, whatever sacrifices it might sometimes involve. Private confession to the priest, another gainful manœuvre, was made obligatory by the General Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215, at which it was enacted that every member of the church should confess once a year. Thus a universal control over the actions and purposes of men was secured to the priesthood. The whole community was placed in their hands, and subjected to their power. Those who could grant or refuse absolution, and who seemed to have heaven and hell at their disposal, would be feared by all men, and obeyed without reserve. Auricular confession was the rivet which fastened almost irrecoverably the chain of Rome's tyranny on the human conscience.

But there were not wanting witnesses for truth and godliness. Peter of Bruges, Henry of Lausanne, Arnold of Brescia, and, above all, the Albigenses and Waldenses, lifted up their voices against the enormities of the times, and pleaded for scriptural piety in different ways and with various success. In Great Britain, Wicklif, at a later period, testified boldly for Christ; denouncing in the strongest terms the errors, superstitions, and vices of the ecclesiastical body, and calling upon all to appeal fearlessly to the word of God. Many noble spirits followed in his course, amongst whom John Huss and Jerome of Prague deserve most honorable mention. The former fell a vic-

tim to foul perfidy; his death reflects indelible disgrace on the Council of Constance. The latter, sacrificed under the same authority, bore his sufferings in a manner which extorted admiration from his bitterest foes. Poggio's letter, describing his trial and execution, is a lasting monument to the faith, meekness, and patience of the martyr.*

Against the servants of God a fiercer war was waged. Unable to meet them in controversy, or deny the truth of the accusations they brought against anti-christian corruptions, the patrons of those corruptions had recourse to arms, and determined to crush those whom they could not convince. It was easier to kill them than to reply to their arguments; to establish an inquisition than to inquire after truth. The crusade against the Albigenses, under the auspices of pope Innocent III. is one of the darkest deeds of those dark ages. It required a demon's heart to plan and a demon's hand to execute the horrid purpose. But it is only a picture of the papacy drawn from the life.

Other efforts to neutralize the testimony of the early reformers were less liable to animadversion. The establishment of the mendicant orders, the most numerous and powerful of which were the Dominicans and Franciscans, was partly intended to counteract the influence of the new heretics, as

* Milner's History of the Church of Christ, cent. xv. ch. 2.

the Waldenses and others were considered, and partly to recover that hold on the affections of men which the shameful conduct of the church had loosened, and well nigh lost. By their profession of poverty, by affected blamelessness of life, by seeming earnestness for religion, and especially by public preaching, in a plain and popular style, and in the vernacular languages of the people, they produced great effects wherever they labored, and it may be hoped, were for a time the instruments of some little real good. But in the issue all their energies were devoted to the service of the popedom and the fuller development of anti-christian tyranny. The Dominicans obtained the management of the newly-established inquisition. Their employers had no reason to complain of the choice. The duties of the office were discharged with unremitting diligence and relentless zeal. A dominican was never more completely in his element than when superintending the infliction of torture, or preaching at an Auto-da-fè.

Nevertheless, papal power was now beginning to suffer reverses. If the crusades tended for a time to enhance it, as was unquestionably the fact, the favorable influence of those mad projects was more than counterbalanced by other events of an untoward character. Of these, the revival of learning was certainly one of the most important. The human mind awoke out of its long sleep, and quickly employed its renovated powers in detect-

ing and exposing abuses. Poetry and eloquence, so long neglected, found fruitful themes in the covetousness and cruelty of the ecclesiastics, and the follies of the current usages of the church. Literature, though in some cases it was bribed or gagged, did good service in the cause of reform; and the efforts of the pen were unconsciously seconded and sustained by the popes themselves. It seemed as if they were given over to judicial blindness. The removal of the papal court to Avignon inflicted a heavy blow on Romish rule. The vices of the papal court were seen in the light of open day, calling for severest reprobation. Then followed the great western schism, which lasted fifty-one years, from 1378 to 1429. Astonished Europe saw rival popes, each claiming to be the true and only successor of Peter and infallible head of the church, cursing one another in the spirit of the devil, and denouncing each other's adherents as children of wrath doomed to destruction. The scandal of these divisions; the obstinacy with which the several pretenders maintained their claims, and refused mediation; the fraud, chicanery, lust of power, and shameless abandonment of integrity daily manifested on all sides during the progress of the contest, opened the eyes of men, and compelled them to behold abominations, the existence of which they would have otherwise hardly dared to believe or suspect. A universal cry for reformation arose, resounding

throughout Europe, and echoing from hill to hill, till the throne of the triple-crowned one trembled. "Reform, reform," was the demand: "reform both in the head and in the members." The Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basle responded to the cry and began to speak terrible things; but means were found to stifle their feeble voice. The time was not yet come.

CHAPTER II.

State of Europe at the beginning of the Reformation.

The fifteenth century is one of the most remarkable eras in the history of mankind. During that period so many events took place destined to exert a powerful influence on human happiness and public weal, that it must be ever regarded with deep interest by the philanthropist and the christian.

The impulse already given to learning received a mighty addition by the invention of printing, A. D. 1440, whereby a great blessing, which had been hitherto confined to the few, was offered to the million. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, A. D. 1453, compelled many learned Greeks to leave their country and seek an asylum

in Europe. They settled chiefly in Italy, where they devoted their energies to the diffusion of Greek literature. New universities were established in almost every part of Europe.* Better methods of teaching were invented. These improvements, not confined, as learning had been formerly, to the ecclesiastics and some few among the rich and noble, but shared by the newly-formed middle classes of society, shed a kindly influence on men and prepared for succeeding changes. The extension of commerce, especially to the new world and to India,† materially aided the great movement, bringing the inhabitants of different countries into friendly connexion, and adding fresh stores to the acquisitions of the human mind.

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* At the following places:

Wurtzburg	A. D. 1403	Treves	A. D. 1454
Valentia	1410	Greisswald	1456
St. Andrews	1411	Freiburg	——
Rostock	1419	Basle	1460
Louvain	1426	Bourges	1463
Caen	1430	Ingolstadt	1472
Poitiers	1431	Saragossa	1474
Florence	1433	Mentz	1477
Bordeaux	1441	Tübingen	——
Eton College	——	Upsal	——
Catania	1445	Copenhagen	1479
Glasgow	1450	Alcala	1499

† America was discovered by Columbus, A. D. 1492. Six years after, Vasco di Gama doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and thus opened a new route to India.

Luther entered on his career as a reformer in the year 1517. Leo X. was then in the fifth year of his popedom. Previous to the election the whole body of cardinals had sworn that whoever should be chosen would summon a general council within two years; but this promise, like many others made on similar occasions, was quickly forgotten by the successful candidate. Pleasure and pelf were the gods of Leo's idolatry. His patronage of learning has been extravagantly praised. It procured him a reputation which was a set-off to many irregularities. He knew little of religion, and cared less.

The principal European potentates of that period were Charles V. of Spain, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. Charles and Francis were rivals. Tens of thousands were slain in their quarrels. Charles however was the mightiest monarch. Naples and the Netherlands had been added to his dominions during the reign of his father Ferdinand; Granada had been conquered from the Moors; and the coasts of America opened to commercial enterprise, giving promise of inexhaustible mines of wealth. Spain at that time occupied a more commanding position than she has attained at any subsequent period of her history. The character of Henry VIII. is well known. Though his resources were not equal to the sovereigns already mentioned, his alliance was justly deemed important, and he dex-

terously seized the advantages held out to him, siding sometimes with one and sometimes with the other, and affecting to hold in his hands the balance of power, though he often became the dupe of the party he supported.

Contemporary with these sovereigns were Maximilian I. emperor of Germany; Emmanuel the Great, king of Portugal; James V. of Scotland; Christian II. of Denmark and Sweden; and Sigismund I. of Poland.

All these had "one mind, and gave their power and strength" to Rome, Rev. 17 : 13. They stood in awe of the pope, as a slave dreads his task-master, and were ever prompt to do his pleasure. A consecrated rose, or some such paltry trifle, annually bestowed on a royal or otherwise illustrious personage, as a reward or a bribe, secured the lasting attachment of the fortunate possessor, and fired his zeal for the church. Charles was the greatest bigot. The establishment of the Inquisition in Spain, in the year 1480, had produced the most injurious effects, spreading universal distrust, offering a premium on treachery, and converting high-minded men into crouching vassals of the priesthood. The Auto-da-fe, at which the king and his court were usually present, was a school in which the church trained up royal and noble pupils in hard-heartedness. Its discipline was always efficacious, for the tutors were apt to teach, and the scholars not slow to learn.

The religious state of the European population may be described in few words. "Of the doctrine of christianity nothing almost remains but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of mediators shared the honor of procuring the Divine favor with the 'one Mediator between God and man;' and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary, and other saints, than to 'Him whom the Father heareth always.' The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of their Savior, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, papal pardons, and voluntary penances. Instead of being instructed to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith and repentance, by forsaking their sins; and to testify their love to God and man, by practising the duties of morality and observing the ordinances of worship authorized by Scripture: they were taught, that if they regularly said their *Aves* and *Credos*, confessed themselves to a priest, purchased a mass, went in pil grimages to the shrine of some celebrated saint, or performed some prescribed act of bodily mortification; if they refrained from flesh on Fridays,

and punctually paid their tithes and other perquisites; their salvation was infallibly secured in due time: while those who were so rich and pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest, to perform masses, obits, and dirges, procured a relaxation of the pains of purgatory for themselves or their relations, in proportion to the extent of their liberality. It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, with the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint: these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favorite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible."*

It might have been expected that religion would flourish most in Italy. The head of the church on earth, the vicar of Christ, would surely live in an atmosphere of holiness. Rome must be the abode

* M'Crie's Life of Knox, i. 21–23, third edition. Such was the state of religion in Scotland; the description equally applies to the other countries of Europe.

of purest morals and most fervent piety. But what was the fact? Luther visited that city, on the business of his order, in the year 1511. He found it the seat of luxury, profaneness, and infidelity. Society was in a frightfully disorganized state; robberies and murders were committed daily; the most scandalous vices were indulged in with impunity. Disbelief in christianity was openly avowed, even in the papal court. The services of religion were performed in breathless haste, by priests who hated their task, and longed to return to their pleasures. When Luther officiated one day at the altar with his accustomed reverence, other priests had said seven masses before he had finished one. "Hurry on! hurry on!" said the priest; "restore her Son to his mother without delay." At another time he was dining with a company of ecclesiastics, among whom were several bishops; their ribald jests and buffooneries filled him with amazement, and pierced him to the heart. They told, amid roars of laughter, how they cheated the ignorant people. Instead of using the words of consecration, by which, according to the Romish faith, the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of the Lord, they often said, in mockery of the solemn service, *Panis es, et panis manebis: vinum es, et vinum manebis:* "Bread thou art, and bread thou wilt remain; wine thou art, and wine thou wilt remain." "Then," said they, "we elevate the host, and the people adore!"

Two years after this, Ulric Hutten, a celebrated German knight, by whose pungent satires the enormities of the papacy were exposed to view, and held up to general execration, spent some time at Rome. On his return to Germany he published a work, entitled, "The Roman Trinity;" abounding with just invective and biting sarcasm. "There are three things," he observed, "which a traveller commonly brings away from Rome—a guilty conscience, a disordered stomach, and an empty purse. There are three things which are not believed in at Rome—the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the dead, and hell. There are three things which are traded in at Rome—the grace of Christ, ecclesiastical dignities, and women," alluding to the papal licenses granted to brothels.—D'Aubigné, book i. sect. 11.

The grossest superstitions every where prevailed, and were uniformly fostered by the priests for pecuniary gain. Some of them are thus described by Tyndall:

"Some abstain from butter, some from eggs, some from all manner of white meat; some this day, some that day; some in the honor of this saint, some of that; and every man for a sundry purpose. Some for the tooth-ache, some for the head-ache, for fevers, pestilence, for sudden death, for hanging, drowning, and to be delivered from the pains of hell. Some are so mad that they fast one of the Thursdays between the two Saint Mary

days, in the worship of that saint whose day is hallowed, between Christmas and Candlemas, and that to be delivered from the pestilence. All those men fast without conscience of God, and without knowledge of the true intent of fasting, and do no other than honor saints, as the gentiles and heathens worshipped their idols, and are drowned in blindness, and know not of the testament that God hath made to manward in Christ's blood. In God have they neither hope nor confidence, neither believe his promises, neither know his will, but are yet in captivity under the prince of darkness.

"What reverence give we unto holy water, holy fire, holy bread, holy salt, hallowed bells, holy wax, holy bows, holy candles, and holy ashes! And last of all, unto the holy candle commit we our souls at our last departing. Yea, and of the very clout which the bishop or his chaplain that standeth by, knitteth about children's necks at confirmation, what lay person durst be so bold as to unloose the knot? Thou wilt say, Do not such things bring the Holy Ghost, and put away sin, and drive away spirits? I say that a steadfast faith or belief in Christ, and in the promises that God hath sworn to give us for his sake, bringeth the Holy Ghost, as all the Scriptures make mention, and as Paul saith, Acts 19, 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost through faith,' or believing? Faith is the rock whereon Christ buildeth

his congregation; against which, saith Christ, Matt. 16, hell-gates shall not prevail. As soon as thou believest in Christ the Holy Ghost cometh, sin falleth away, and devils fly. When we cast holy water at the devil, or ring the bells, he fleeth as men do from young children, and mocketh with us, to bring us from the true faith that is in God's word unto a superstitious and a false belief of our own imagination. If thou hadst faith and threwest an unhallowed stone at his head, he would earnestly flee and without mocking; yea, though thou threwest nothing at all he would not yet abide."*

"'Ye blind guides,' saith Christ, 'ye strain out a gnat, and swallow a camel.' Mat. 23. Do not our blind guides also stumble at a straw, and leap over a block—making narrow consciences at trifles, and at matters of weight none at all? If any of them do swallow his spittle or any of the water wherewith he washeth his mouth ere he go to mass; or touch the sacrament with his nose, or if the ass forget to breathe on him, or happen to handle it with any of his fingers which are not anointed, or say *Alleluia* instead of *Laus tibi Domine*, or *Ite missa est* instead of *Benedicamus Domino*, or pour too much wine in the chalice, or read the gospel without light, or make not his crosses aright—how trembleth he! How feareth

* Obedience of a Christian Man; Works, p 131

he! What a horrible sin is committed! 'I cry God mercy,' saith he, 'and you, my ghostly father.' But to hold a whore or another man's wife to buy a benefice, to set one realm at variance with another, and to cause twenty thousand men to die on a day, is but a trifle and a pastime with them."

"Thousands, while the priest pattereth St. John's Gospel over their heads, cross themselves with I trow a legion of crosses behind and before; . . . . . and pluck up their legs, and cross so much as their heels and the very soles of their feet, and believe that if it be done in the time that he readeth the gospel, (and else not,) that there shall no mischance happen them that day, because only of those crosses. And such is the confidence in the place or image, or whatsoever bodily observance it may be. Such is St. Agathe's letter, written in the gospel time. And such are the crosses on Palm-sunday, made in the passion time. And such is the bearing of holy wax about a man. And such is, that some hang a piece of St. John's Gospel about their necks. And such is to bear the names of God with crosses between each name about them. Such is the saying of gospels unto women in childbed. Such is the limeteriers' of 'In principio est verbum' from house to house. Such is the saying of the gospels to the corn in the field in the procession week, that it should the better grow. And such is holy

bread, holy water, and serving of all ceremonies and sacraments in general, without signification. And I pray you how is it possible that the people can worship images, relics, ceremonies, and sacraments, save superstitiously, so long as they know not the true meaning, neither will the prelates suffer any man to tell them? Yea, and the very meaning of some, and right use, no man can tell."*

Confidence in relics was another feature of the religion of the times. It was carried to the most extravagant lengths. Happy was he who could procure the finger-bone of a saint, or a rag that had once formed part of his clothing! It was his protection against all dangers, and his refuge under the sorest calamities. Such articles were purchased at a high price. As presents from one illustrious personage to another, they were esteemed above all things. In 1492, Bajazet, the Turkish sultan, sent an ambassador to the pope, with the head of the "true lance" which had pierced the Savior's side, and the sponge and reed wherewith the vinegar had been conveyed to his mouth. The Romish clergy went forth in procession to receive the precious gifts, and "the pontiff assisted in person at the miserable mummery." In the same year, "some laborers repair-

* Tyndall, Works, ed. 1576. Parable of wicked Mammon, p. 81; Obed. of Chr. Man, p. 141; Ans. to Sir Thomas More, p. 271.

ing the foundations of the church of Santa Croce at Rome, discovered what was immediately proclaimed to be the original inscription on the cross of Christ. The belief was propagated, that it had been sent to Rome by St. Helena, mother of Constantine; and though there was no authority for this tradition, and though the pious Catholics of Toulouse pretended to have possessed the true inscription undisturbed for many ages, Alexander VI. pronounced, four years afterwards, the authenticity of the Roman title, and recommended it by particular indulgences to the devotion of the faithful." Waddington's Hist. of the Church, ch. 28.

The church of All Saints, at Wittemberg, was richly supplied. The relic-worshipper might see there a piece of Noah's ark, some soot from the furnace into which Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had been cast, a fragment of the cradle of Jesus, and nineteen other precious deposites, many of which had been dearly bought. At Schaffhausen they showed St. Joseph's breath, said to have been received by Nicodemus in his glove! A dealer in indulgences appeared one day at Wurtemberg, with a large feather in his hat, taken, he said, from one of the wings of Michael the archangel! But the recital would be endless. Many persons farmed the use of relics, bargaining with the proprietors for a certain sum for a given time, during which they travelled from place to place, exhibiting their treasures, sometimes in churches,

sometimes in houses; and generally succeeded in realizing a handsome profit. Abundant scope for trickery was afforded, and the grossest impositions were practised; but the people loved their idols too well to inquire too curiously into such matters. Knowledge would have deprived them of many an endeared consolation. In such circumstances, "ignorance" seemed to be "bliss." Happily, however, the time at length arrived when men no longer thought it "folly to be wise."

Education in the fifteenth century, though much improved, was still in a very imperfect state, particularly in England. "The tuition of the day was rather scholastic disputation, than religious knowledge or the learned languages; for piety and the classics were found to be creative of a spirit too judicious and too honest to uphold the existing superstitions. The complaints of Erasmus were unquestionably founded in truth. Skill in Greek was disliked, and Hebrew still more. The study of eloquence was despised. The Latin tongue itself was so deformed by new barbarisms, that it was any thing but Latin. Neither history, geography, nor antiquity was cared for. All valued literature was contracted into a few sophistical subtleties; and the sum of erudition was confined to collectors and excerptors of the logical topics of the school-men, who had the more impudence as they had less learning."* The mass of the peo-

* Sharon Turner's Henry VIII. i. 163.

ple were wholly uninstructed. Very few of them could read, and those who had the ability were unsupplied with wholesome nutriment for the mind, the Scriptures being absolutely forbidden, and good books in the vernacular tongues as yet unknown.

Divine service being conducted in Latin,* the people depended on the priests for such instruction as they chose to give. It was deplorably scanty. How could it be otherwise, when the

* "The sermons which thou readest in the Acts of the Apostles, and all that the apostles preached, were no doubt preached in the mother tongue. Why then might they not be written in the mother tongue? As if one of us preach a good sermon, why may it not be written? Saint Jerome also translated the Bible into his mother tongue; why may not we also? They will say, it cannot be translated into our tongue, it is so rude. It is not so rude as they are false liars. For the Greek tongue agreeth more with the English than with the Latin, and the properties of the Hebrew tongue agree a thousand times more with the English than with the Latin. The manner of speaking is both one, so that in a thousand places thou needest not but to translate it into the English, word for word, when thou must seek a compass in the Latin, and yet shalt have much work to translate it wellfavoredly, so that it have the same grace and sweetness, sense and pure understanding with it in the Latin, as it hath in the Hebrew. A thousand parts better may it be translated into the English than into the Latin." . . . .

Will ye resist God? Will ye forbid him to give his Spirit unto the laity as well as unto you? Hath he not made the English tongue? Why forbid ye him to speak in the English tongue then, as well as in the Latin?" Tyndal's Obedience of a Christian Man; Works, pp. 102, 104.

very teachers were not only sworn foes to sacred learning, but needed also to be taught "the first principles of the oracles of God?" They could recite their offices, administer the sacraments, receive tithes, and hear confessions; but scarcely any of them understood the Gospel, or had experienced its saving benefits.* They were dumb dogs, that could not bark—greedy dogs, that could never have enough—shepherds, that could not understand—looking "to their own way, every one for his gain, from his quarter." Isa. 56 : 10, 11.

The morals of the clergy were at the lowest ebb. Bishops, abbots, and others of the higher orders, revelled in luxury, or committed with impunity deeds of violence and blood. Their dwellings were for the most part scenes of debauchery. Often did they appear in the field clad in mail and with weapons of war in their hands, leading armed hosts to plunder, and inflicting wretchedness on the innocent and defenceless people. The com-

* "The curates themselves (for the most part) wot no more what the New or Old Testament meaneth, than do the Turks: neither know they of any more than that they read at mass, matins, and evensong, which yet they understand not; neither care they, but even to mumble up so much every day, (as the pye and popinjay speak, they wot not what,) to fill up their bellies withal. If they will not let the layman have the word of God in his mother tongue, yet let the priests have it, for a great part of them do understand no Latin at all, but sing and say, and patter all day, with the lips only, that which the heart understandeth not." Ibid. p. 102.

mon priesthood indulged their licentious propensities without the slightest regard to decorum. In many places concubinage was the rule, and chastity the exception. Habits of gluttony and drunkenness, and general dissoluteness of manners, distinguished those who should have been "patterns of good works."*

Nor can a more favorable report be given of the monks. Monasteries have been praised by Romish writers as seats of learning and habitations of piety. But it is an incontestable fact that the monks were the fiercest enemies of learning, and sought by all means to prevent its progress. Their piety consisted in a constant dull round of heartless ceremonies, and observances of fasts and festivals. They were spiritual drones, fattening on the crimes or weakness of men. Their man-

* Sometimes the priests paid a fine to the bishop for the women they kept, and for every child born to them. A German bishop boasted, in a public assembly, of having received pay ments of this kind from eleven thousand priests in one year!

"If ye profess chastity, why desire ye above all other men the company of women? What do ye with whores openly in many countries, and with secret dispensations to keep concubines? Why corrupt ye so much other men's wives?"

"Their holiness is to forbid what God ordained to be received with thanksgiving, as meat and matrimony. And their own works they maintain, and let God's decay. Break theirs, and they persecute to the death. But break God's, and they either look through the fingers, or else give thee a flap with a fox tail for a little money." Tyndal's Exposition of Matt. 7. Works, pp. 242, 245.

ners and morals were too commonly of a most disgraceful character. Many a monastery was the abode of all uncleanness. That might have been expected. The laws of God are not to be violated with impunity. It cannot be matter of surprise that such men should have been delivered up to "vile affections."

Clerical exactions ground the people to powder. On this subject Tyndal has furnished some curious information. It shall be given in his own plain and pithy language:—"They will forget nothing. No man shall die in their debt; or if any man do, he shall pay it when he is dead. They will lose nothing. Why? It is Saint Cudbert's rents, Saint Alban's lands, Saint Edmond's right, Saint Peter's patrimony, say they, and none of ours. Then, if a man die in another man's parish, besides that he must pay at home a mortuary for forgotten tithes, he must there pay also the best that he there hath; whether it be a horse of twenty pounds, or how good soever he be; either a chain of gold of an hundred marks, or five hundred pounds if it so chance. It is much verily for so little painstaking in confession and in ministering the sacraments. Then bead-rolls. Item, chrisom, churchings, bans, weddings, offering at weddings, offering at buryings, offering to images, offering of wax and lights, which come to their advantage, besides the superstitious waste of wax in torches and tapers throughout the land. Then

brotherhoods and pardoners. What get they also by confessions! Yea, and many enjoin penance to give a certain sum for to have so many masses said, and desire to provide a chaplain themselves. Soul-masses, dirges, month-minds, year-minds, all-souls' day, and trentals. The mother church and the high altar must have somewhat in every testament. Offerings at priests' first masses. Item, no man is professed, of whatsoever religion it be, but he must bring somewhat. The hallowing, or rather conjuring of churches, chapels, altars, superaltars, chalice, vestments, and bells. Then book, bell, candlestick, organs, chalice, vestments, copes, alter-cloths, surplices, towels, basins, ewers, censer, and all manner of ornaments, must be found them freely: they will not give a mite thereunto. Last of all, what swarms of begging friars are there! The parson sheareth, the vicar shaveth, the parish priest polleth, the friar scrapeth, and the pardoner pareth; we lack but a butcher to pull off the skin.*

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* Obedience of a Christian Man; Works, p. 136. Some of these words will probably require explanation. The following hints may serve that purpose:

Mortuary. A sum of money demanded after a person's death for tithes and offerings said to have been left unpaid. Sometimes the best horse or cow, or the most costly article of furniture was required.

Chrisom. A cloth blessed and anointed by the priest, worn by the child till its baptism.

Brotherhood. Any religious fraternity

The wealth of Europe flowed freely to Rome, Every ecclesiastical movement, whether arising from death, promotion, or other causes, produced an addition to the papal revenue. And whose coffers were filled by these exactions? What purposes of benevolence and righteousness were accomplished by such profuse expenditure? If these questions could have been satisfactorily answered, men would have regretted much less the alienation of their property. But they were justly indignant when they found that the money was squandered in reckless extravagance, expended in unrighteous contests, or employed in supporting the infamous vices of a Borgia. That paragon of wickedness, pope Alexander VI. had been dead for some few years at the time to which these remarks principally refer. But he was not yet forgotten. Nor should it ever be forgotten, that such

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Pardoner. A vender of indulgences; *i. e.* a seller of pardons.

Soul-masses. Masses said for the repose of the deceased person's soul.

Dirges. Funeral services, either chanted or sung.

Month-minds. Services for the dead, at the end of a month after the decease.

Year-minds. Similar services at the anniversary of the death.

All-souls'-day. Nov. 2. All Souls' day. Masses for the dead are universally celebrated by the Romanists upon that day.

Trentals. A series of thirty days' services for the dead. It was instituted by Gregory the Great, and was intended to supplant the heathenish superstitions observed for the same period, after the death of a person, among the heathen nations.

a man once occupied the pretended chair of the apostles, and dared to call himself the vicegerent of God upon earth.

Roderic Borgia had been originally educated for the law, but afterwards assumed the military profession, a state of life much more agreeable to his character, because it offered facilities for the indulgence of the vices to which he was addicted. Having lived some time with a Roman lady, with whom he had formed an unlawful connexion, he substituted for her, after her death, Rosa Vanozza, one of her daughters, by whom he had five children. In the pontificate of Calixtus III. his uncle, he was invited to Rome, and entered into the church, taking the usual vows; but still retaining his connexion with Vanozza. He was created cardinal, received rich benefices, and affected great zeal and benevolence, visiting churches and hospitals, and putting on the manners of a saint. On the death of pope Innocent VIII. he bribed the majority of the cardinals, or entered into simoniacal contracts with them, and by such means obtained the tiara. His subsequent life revealed yet more fully the filthy and malignant passions by which he was distinguished among the bad men who at that time found a congenial home in the ecclesiastical metropolis of Europe. His sons (he was not ashamed to own them) were created cardinals, and enriched with the spoils of the church. The pontifical palace was alternately the

scene of shameless debauchery and deeds of blood. The inferior clergy of Rome followed the example of their head. "Every ecclesiastic had a mistress, and every convent was a house of ill fame." Infessura.

"Alexander's great aim, during the whole course of his life, had been to gratify to the utmost his love of ease, his sensuality, and his ambition. The possession of the highest spiritual dignity seemed to him the summit of felicity. Old as he was, he seemed daily to grow younger under the influence of this feeling. No importunate thought troubled his repose for a night. He only pondered on what could be of advantage to himself, how he could advance his sons to dignity and power; no other considerations ever seriously occupied his mind.

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"Alexander saw his warmest wishes fulfilled, the barons of the land annihilated, and his house about to found a great hereditary power in Italy. But already he had begun to feel of what excesses hot and unbridled passions are capable. Cæsar (his youngest son) would share his power neither with kinsman nor favorite. He had caused his brother, who stood in his way, to be murdered and thrown into the Tiber. His brother-in-law was attacked and stabbed on the steps of the palace, by his orders. The wounded man was nursed by his wife and sisters; the sister cooked his food, in

order to secure him from poison, and the pope set a guard before his house, to protect his son-in-law from his son; precautions which Cæsar derided. He said, 'What is not done by noon may be done by evening.' When the prince was recovering from his wounds Cæsar burst into his chamber, drove out the wife and sister, called an executioner, and ordered the unfortunate prince to be strangled. He used his father as a means to power; otherwise he was utterly regardless of him. He killed Peroto, Alexander's favorite, while clinging to his patron, and sheltered by the pontifical mantle.

"Rome trembled at his name. Cæsar wanted money, and had enemies; every night murdered bodies were found in the streets. Men lived in seclusion and silence; there was none who did not fear that his turn would come. Those whom force could not reach were taken off by poison.

"There wanted, indeed, no Luther to prove to the world how diametrically opposed to all christianity were such principles and actions. At the very time we are speaking of, the complaint arose that the pope prepared the way for antichrist; that he labored for the coming of the kingdom, not of heaven, but of Satan.

"We shall not follow into its details the history of Alexander. It is but too certain that he once meditated taking off one of the richest of the cardinals by poison: his intended victim contrived, however, by means of presents, promises, and

prayers, to gain over his head cook, and the dish which had been prepared for the cardinal was placed before the pope. He died of the poison he had destined for another."*

The state of the church of Rome in the early part of the sixteenth century has been now described. All that has been said is abundantly confirmed by the recorded confessions of the parties themselves, as uttered forty years afterwards, when full opportunity had been given for amendment and reformation.†

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* Ranke's History of the Popes of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, i. 47–52.

† The sermons delivered before the Council of Trent teem with invectives against ecclesiastics, and are filled with descriptions of the abuses and evils which then prevailed, expressed in the strongest terms. Those who are curious in these matters may consult Le Plat's "Amplissima Collectio," i. 16, 32–36, 41, 59–61, 70, 78, 81–83, 99, 101, 132, 323–325, 393–395, 441, 611, 723, 724, 728.

In 1538 Paul III. appointed a committee to consider and report respecting reform. The report was published, not by the parties concerned, but by some friend to Protestantism, to whom a copy had been communicated. Its publication was opportune and serviceable. Among other things, the committee stated that persons of bad character were made priests; that simoniacal contracts for benefices were common; that the permission to purchase dispensations and indulgences had promoted crime and destroyed discipline; that the monastic orders were in so bad a state as to render it desirable that no further additions should be made to their numbers till a complete reform had been accomplished; that in Italy infidelity was publicly taught by the professors of philosophy; and that in Rome where the greatest purity ought to prevail, harlots lived in splendid houses, and walked

"I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ," said the apostle Paul; "for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." Rom. 1 : 16. So it has proved in all ages, and in all nations. But this blessed effect had not been realized in the church of Rome. There was no salvation. Men were called christians, and were told to account themselves safe. But it was a vain hope. The heart was unaffected. Repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, formed no part of the religion of persons who enjoyed all the privileges of the church, and fancied that heaven was secured to them. As a necessary consequence, scriptural holiness was unattainable. Since faith only unites to the Savior, there is no holiness without faith. Men could worship the virgin and the saints, fast, do penance, keep the feasts of the church, and curse and murder heretics. But the "fruits of the Spirit" were not produced, because faith, the root, was wanting; and "without faith it is impossible to please God." Heb. 11 : 6.

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the streets publicly at noon-day, or rode upon mules, attended by gentlemen belonging to the families of cardinals, and even by clergymen! The document may be seen entire in the "Preservative against Popery." i. 79–84.

CHAPTER III.

History of the German Reformation.

SECTION I.

THE EARLY LIFE OF LUTHER.

MARTIN LUTHER was born at Eisleben, the chief town of the county of Mansfeld, Upper Saxony, Nov. 10, 1483. His parents were poor, but well instructed and pious. John Luther, his father, evinced an eager thirst for knowledge, and sought to gratify it by availing himself of every opportunity to procure books, (at that time scarce and dear,) which he read in the intervals of labor. His mother, Margaret Lindeman, a native of Neustadt, was a woman of exemplary character. The matrons of the neighborhood regarded her as a model of maternal excellence.

About six months after Luther's birth, the family removed to Mansfeld, the iron mines of which place were in full work. John Luther settled there as a miner. He gradually acquired property, became a member of the town council of Mansfeld, and was universally respected.

Luther was sent to school at a very early age. The knowledge he obtained at Mansfeld was scanty; it comprised little more than the elements of Latin grammar, together with a catechism, the ten commandments, the apostles' creed, the Lord's

prayer, and sundry hymns and forms of prayer, laboriously committed to memory; but the progress he made induced his father to resolve on giving him a learned education, in the hope that his future eminence would justify an arrangement scarcely compatible with his prospects in life.

In pursuance of his plan. Luther's father sent him, in the year 1497, to Magdeburg, and in the year following to Isenac. He had to endure great hardships at both places. The supplies sent him from home being insufficient for his maintenance, he was compelled to join other poor scholars in begging from house to house. They often met with rough treatment, and not unfrequently bore the pains of hunger. It became doubtful whether he would not be driven back to the mines of Mansfeld. But God had provided better things for him.

One day, while engaged in his humiliating employment, and having been harshly repelled from three houses, he stood musing in the street, full of anxiety and grief, and was about to return fasting to his room, when the wife of a respectable citizen opened the door of the house and beckoned him to enter. Her name was Ursula Cotta. His becoming behavior at public worship, and his melodious voice, (for he excelled in singing, in which he took great delight,) had previously attracted her attention. She had heard the rough language of her neighbors, who had refused him assistance,

and determined to relieve him. His company proved so agreeable to her husband and herself, that in the course of a few days he was invited to take up his abode at their house, where he lived in comfort till the time arrived for his entering the university.

This providential event produced the happiest effects. His studies, which had proceeded languidly while he was under the depressing influence of poverty, were pursued with unremitting eagerness. He soon acquired the first place among his associates.

It was determined that Luther should study the law. Had that plan been realized, there is little doubt that worldly wealth and honor would have been his portion. Anticipating a brilliant career for his son, John Luther sent him, in 1501, to the university of Erfurt.

Again he distanced his companions. His progress was so remarkable that he became the object of universal admiration. Whatever he learned he understood and made his own. He did not satisfy himself with acquiring the daily lessons, or fulfilling the course prescribed by the professors, but eagerly drew from all the sources of information within his reach.

He had been two years at Erfurt, when an event occurred which ultimately led to an entire change of pursuit. He usually spent his spare hours in the public library of the university, ac

quainting himself with the titles and subjects of the works he found there. One day a large volume attracted his attention, and he took it down to examine its contents. It was a Latin Bible, the first he had ever seen. Till then, he had only read the extracts in the Romish offices, and thought there was no other Bible. His astonishment and delight were excessive. The book of God was before him. Facts and truths, of which he had no previous knowledge, were presented to his mind, filling him with wonder, and awakening deep emotion. Again and again he returned to the library, to read the holy volume. He had not yet, it is true, a spiritual mind: it appears that he was more interested in the histories than in the doctrines of the word of God; and it is not likely that he, as yet, experienced any relish for the soul-humbling peculiarities of the Gospel. But he was accumulating a store of biblical knowledge which was afterwards to be turned to the best account. "The Reformation lay hid in that Bible." D'Aubigné.

In the year 1505 Luther received his degree of master of arts, amidst universal congratulation and applause. It was believed and expected that he would be one of the brightest ornaments of the university: and so he was. But for a time, those hopes appeared to be disappointed. He had visited his parents at Mansfeld, and was returning to Erfurt, when he was overtaken by a violent thun-

der-storm, and thought himself in imminent danger. Death appeared to be at hand, and he was unprepared for it. Falling on his knees, he implored deliverance, and vowed, if God should spare his life, to leave the world and devote himself to religion. He escaped the peril, and arrived in safety at Erfurt. His resolution was at once carried into effect. To the utter dismay of his literary associates, it was announced that Luther was about to embrace the monastic life. No entreaties could prevail on him to change his mind. He entered the Augustinian convent, August 17, 1505.

At first he was compelled to submit to the meanest drudgery. Nor did he complain. He thought to obtain pardon and peace by self-denying obedience; for he was then ignorant of "the righteousness of God." The intercession of some friends having procured him exemption from manual labor, he resumed his beloved studies with alacrity. Much of his time was spent in reading the works of Augustine, and of the most celebrated school divines; and very frequent visits did he pay to a Bible which he found chained to a wall for public use. As yet, indeed, he had no spiritual apprehension of the truths of the sacred volume; but he was acquiring extensive knowledge of its contents, and so was unconsciously under preparation for the great work to which God had chosen him.

It soon became evident that Luther would be a

first-rate theologian. His skill in resolving difficulties and conducting disputations, after the fashions of the times, acquired for him extensive popularity. The Augustinians were justly proud of their new member. In the meantime his mind was a prey to wretchedness. He had fondly hoped that within the walls of a monastery he should obtain permanent peace of conscience and victory over sin. Most strenuously did he labor for the accomplishment of these purposes. He fasted; he kept vigils; he punished his body. He was frequent at confession, and assiduous in the observance of all ceremonies. Thus he hoped to secure the salvation of his soul. But all his efforts were in vain. The convictions which raged within him were from God, and no human inventions could give him relief. He became more and more miserable. The other monks observed his distress, and made many friendly attempts to comfort him; but the case was far beyond their skill.

Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustines, was a truly pious man. The study of the Bible and of the works of Augustine had been blessed to him. He lived in the exercise of faith in the Redeemer, and enjoyed the peace which can spring from no other source. Visiting Erfurt in the discharge of his official duties, he was informed of Luther's state, and immediately obtained an interview, which proved very beneficial to the mourning monk. "Look at the wounds of Jesus Christ,"

he said; "at the blood which he shed for you; so will the grace of God be manifested to your soul. Instead of torturing yourself for your sins, fall into the arms of the Redeemer. Trust in him —in the righteousness of his life, in the sacrifice of his death. . . . If you would be filled with the love of goodness you must first of all be filled with the love of God. If you would be converted, seek not the blessing by these penances and pains. Love Him who has first loved you. . . . . Look at the wounds of Christ: we cannot comprehend God out of Christ. You will find him no where else, either in heaven or on the earth."

The conversations of the vicar-general produced a powerful effect on Luther's mind. His researches into truth were prosecuted with renewed ardor. Having now a Bible of his own (Staupitz had given him one,) it was his constant study. The light of truth dawned on his soul. He began to be happy.

But clouds returned. His mental anguish affected his bodily frame, and brought on a severe illness. The prospect of death filled him with dismay. While in that state an old monk entered his cell and repeated in a cheerful tone that clause in the apostles' creed, "I believe in the remission of sins." "And I also," replied Luther; "I believe in the remission of sins." "Ah!" rejoined the old man, "we must not only believe that the sins of David and Peter are forgiven; the

devils believe that. God's commandment is, that we believe that *our* sins are forgiven." These words were "spirit and life" to the young inquirer. He was enabled to commit himself unreservedly to the grace of God in Christ, and to believe in Divine love. Thenceforth he experienced consolation and joy. "*The just shall live by faith*," Hab. 2 : 4; Rom. 1 : 16, 17: that is the master-principle of the Gospel. It took full possession of Luther's mind and moulded his whole character. Every day brought fresh light and growing conviction. He was "created anew in Christ Jesus."

Luther was ordained to the priesthood May 2, 1507. The next year he removed to Wittemberg to undertake a professorship in the university, to which he was invited by Frederic the Wise, elector of Saxony. The elector had heard of his learning and genius, and rightly judged that such a man ought not to be suffered to remain in a cloister. His hopes were fully realized. The new professor quickly attracted great attention. In the following year, when he took his degree of bachelor of divinity, and lectured daily on the Scriptures, his career of usefulness was fairly open before him. About the same time, in obedience to the wishes of Staupitz, he began to preach. Both his lectures and his sermons were attended by crowds of hearers, and produced deep impressions. There was a life, an energy, an unction in

his addresses that placed them in most advantageous contrast to the dry disquisitions to which men had been accustomed. They were astonished and delighted.

On returning from Rome, whither he had repaired in the year 1512 on business connected with his order, and where his reverence for the papacy was severely shaken by viewing the awful state of things already described, Luther received his doctor's degree. Doctors in divinity, in those days, were publicly installed, and took a solemn oath, binding them to the faithful discharge of their duties. There were two kinds of divinity degrees—the biblical and the scholastic. Luther, as might have been expected, chose the former. His oath imposed on him the obligation to study the word of God, to teach it purely, preach faithfully, and defend it against all foes: in other words, to continue in the course which he had already marked out for himself; for he had long been a Bible doctor. But from that time his measures were more decisive. He devoted himself unremittingly to the Scriptures. With a boldness that none but himself could assume, he unmasked the sophistries by which the pure truth had been hidden from the eyes of mankind, exposed the evils and corruptions of the church, and placed before his hearers the glorious treasures of the sacred oracles, exhorting them to reject the doctrines and commandments of men. His

favorite truth, if it may be so called, that which had given peace to his own soul and continued to nourish his piety—the free justification of the sinner by the imputed righteousness of the Lord Jesus, received by faith—was ever in the front rank, and was explained, illustrated, and enforced in every possible way. As a specimen of his manner of treating this subject, a letter to Spenlein, a brother monk, may be quoted.

"I am desirous of knowing the state of your soul. Is it not weary of its own righteousness? Does it not at length pant after and trust in the righteousness of Christ? Pride has seduced many in our days, and especially those who strive with all their might to be righteous. Not understanding the righteousness of God, which is freely given us in Jesus Christ, they would live before him by their own merits. But that cannot be. . . . O my dear brother, learn to know Christ and him crucified. Learn to sing to him a new song, to despair of yourself, and to say to him, 'Thou, Lord Jesus, art my righteousness, and I am thy sin. Thou hast taken what is mine, and hast given me thine own. Thou didst become what thou wast not, that I might become what I was not.' If our works and our afflictions could procure us peace of conscience, why did Christ die? You will never find peace but in him; renouncing all trust in yourself and your own works, and seeing with what love he opens his arms to

you, taking on himself all your sins, and giving you all his righteousness." Epist. Luth. (De Wette.) i. 16–18.

The public and repeated announcement of such truths could not be without effect. Theology was presented under a new aspect. It was no longer an uninviting desert soil, a mere field for word-battles. It became like the garden of Eden, where man held communion with his Maker. Biblical students attained a profitable understanding of Divine truth. The light of the pure Gospel shed its bright rays on the mind, preparing for the conflict which was shortly to take place.

In the year 1516 Staupitz was sent by the elector into the Low Countries to collect relics for a new church which he had built at Wittemberg. In the absence of the vicar-general Luther was deputed to visit forty monasteries belonging to his order, in Misnia and Thuringia. Six months were spent in that visit. Luther exhorted the monks to study the Scriptures, and to renounce all confidence in their own works; preaching Christ crucified as the only hope for sinners of every class. Many a cell was from that time occupied by a Bible student. Some of the most useful advocates of the Reformation were trained for their work in the cloisters of the Augustinians

SECTION II.

THE CONTROVERSY RESPECTING INDULGENCES.

We now come to the turning-point of Luther's history. In the year 1517 pope Leo X. issued a bull, granting plenary indulgence to all who should contribute to the building of St. Peter's at Rome. Such was the alleged purpose for which the money was to be raised. The truth was, Leo's extravagance had emptied his coffers, and this was the easiest way to fill them.

Agents were employed in every part of Europe for the sale of these indulgences. They travelled from place to place in great pomp, calling upon the people to buy their valuable wares. Among them was John Tetzel, a Dominican. He had been engaged in the indulgence trade for many years, on a small scale, and had acquired great skill in the management of the business. Albert, archbishop of Mayence, being at that time in want of money, had farmed the indulgences for Germany, agreeing to divide the profits with the pope. Tetzel offered his services to him, and was gladly accepted. Soon all Germany was in commotion; pardon, full pardon for sins, of whatever enormity, was offered to all who could buy. The price varied according to the station of the purchaser and the nature of the crime.* And remission might be

* Royal personages, archbishops, and bishops, paid twenty-five

obtained not only for the sinners themselves, but also for souls in purgatory, whose release, it was confidently affirmed, immediately followed the conclusion of the bargain.* The indulgence was expressed in the following terms:

"May our Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee, through the merits of his most holy passion. And I, by his authority and that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of our holy master the pope, granted and committed to me in these parts, do absolve thee: first, from all ecclesiastical censures, howsoever incurred: next, from all sins, faults, and excesses hitherto committed by thee, howsoever enormous, even those reserved to the apostolical see, in as far as the keys of holy mother church extend; remitting by plenary indulgence all punishment due to thee for the aforesaid in purgatory. And I restore thee to the holy sacraments of the church, and to the unity of the faithful, and to the innocence and purity conferred on thee by baptism; so that the gates of punishment may be closed against thee at thy departure,

ducats; abbots, counts, and barons, six; and so on in proportion. An indulgence for polygamy cost six ducats; for sacrilege and perjury, nine; for murder, eight; for magic, two.

* "I would not change my privileges for those of St. Peter in heaven," said Tetzel; "for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than he did by his sermons. . . . Indulgences serve not only the living, but also the dead. . . . . As soon as the money rattles at the bottom of the chest, the soul is delivered from purgatory, and flies into heaven."

and those of the joys of paradise be opened. Or, shouldst thou not presently die, let this grace remain in full force, and await thee at the point of death. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

Great excitement prevailed. Sensible men saw the iniquity of the transaction. Some were indignant; others ridiculed. Defenders and opponents fiercely disputed on the subject. Meanwhile, however, Tetzel's progress through the country was attended with his customary success. Multitudes thronged to the sacred market, eager to buy pardon and heaven. Tetzel had reached Juttenbock four miles from Wittemberg, but could not get nearer, as the elector of Saxony had forbidden him to enter that state, and Juttenbock was in the territory of his employer, Albert. Thither the inhabitants of Wittemberg flocked to the merchant, and bought freely.

One day Luther was seated in the confessional. Some citizens went to him, acknowledging the commission of many sins, but resolutely refusing to submit to the usual penance. When he denied them absolution they showed him the indulgences they had purchased. He assured them that those indulgences were worthless, and persisted in refusing them absolution. They repaired forthwith to Tetzel, and denounced him. But the monk's fury was little regarded. Luther had already learned the Gospel too well to be deceived by the

imposing pretensions of Rome. From this occurrence he saw the dangerous tendency of the doctrine of indulgences, and acted at once on the principle by which his whole life was distinguished, by avowing his convictions as soon as they were formed. In a sermon, which was quickly published and widely circulated, he expounded the christian doctrine of forgiveness, and warned his hearers against resting on earthly foundations.

A bolder attack followed. The relics which the elector had deposited in the church of All Saints, Wittemberg, were exhibited to public view on All Saints' day, Nov. 1; on which occasion all persons who visited the church and confessed, shared in a special indulgence granted by the pope. Luther resolved to expose the entire system, founded as it was upon error of the grossest kind, and indulgent to sin. Accordingly, on the eve of the great festival, Oct. 31, 1517, he affixed to the gates of the church his celebrated theses, or propositions on indulgences, ninety-five in number, and thus began to undermine one of the strongest bulwarks of the papacy. The next morning the theses were read by wondering crowds. They were afterwards printed and distributed by thousands throughout Germany, producing a powerful effect among all classes. In a very short time they might be purchased in almost every part of Europe.

Tetzel stormed and raved like a true inquisitor. After some time he issued counter theses, in which

he was assisted by Conrad Wimpina, a professor in the university of Frankfort on the Oder. He vented his spite, also, by publicly burning Luther's theses; he would have burned the author, had he been in his power. The students of Wittemberg retaliated. They seized a person who was employed to circulate Tetzel's theses in the dominions of the elector of Saxony, and took from him his whole stock, amounting to eight hundred copies, which were consumed in the flames, in the presence of an immense crowd, and amid loud acclamations.

Other opponents soon appeared of a more formidable character. Sylvester Prierias, master of the sacred palace of Rome, saw that Luther's attack struck at the authority of the pope, and he sought to repel it by maintaining that authority in the most extravagant manner. He did not scruple to assert that the doctrine of the Roman church, and of the pope of Rome, was an infallible rule of faith, from which Scripture itself derived strength and authority; that the authority of the church and of the popes was greater than that of Scripture; that the same church was infallible, not in word only, but in deed, in faith, and in morals; that the pope, through his indulgences, could remit any degree of sin, even to the violation, were such an act possible, of the mother of God; that the indulgence, though not revealed in Scripture, was no less certainly established by the authority of the pope; and that he who denied any of these

positions was a heretic, wilfully straying away from the path of salvation. Such effusions as these did more good to Luther's cause than harm, as they served to disclose more clearly and fully the enormities of the system. John Eck, vice-chancellor of the university of Ingolstadt, published a work entitled "Obelisks," in which he argued against Luther's opinions in the style of the schoolmen. James Hockstraten, a Dominican and an inquisitor, issued a reply couched in very different language. Nothing but fire or sword could satisfy him. He called upon the pope to exert the power which God had given him, and destroy the accursed heretic.

In answering these productions, Luther entered upon new ground. Prierias, in particular, had broached opinions adverse to the authority of Scripture and the right of private inquiry. This was too much for the reformer to endure. As he owed every thing to the Bible, he could not bear that any obstacles should be thrown in the way of the most unlimited use of the holy book, or any restraint laid upon man's researches; he claimed for himself and for all men the liberty to read, examine, and judge; and pleaded, with his accustomed vigor, for the supreme authority of the word of God. These were the main principles of the Reformation which he lived to accomplish. They are identified with christianity. They will survive the downfall of the heresies of Rome.

The Augustinians of Wittemberg trembled for the consequences of the dispute into which their zealous brother had entered, and entreated him to desist. But they neither understood his character nor rightly appreciated the controversy. "Beloved father," said Luther to the prior of the convent, "all this affair will presently fall to the ground, if it be not undertaken in the name of the Lord. But, if it be so, we must leave it to the Lord to finish it."

Hitherto Leo disregarded the German movement. He affected to treat it as a dispute between rival monks, utterly unworthy of his notice. But he was compelled to interfere. Luther had published an explanation of his theses, entitled "Resolutions," which he sent to the pope, with a letter, written in the most respectful strain, laying the whole case before him, and placing himself and his cause at the disposal of the sovereign pontiff; for as yet, notwithstanding the light and grace he had received, he was a submissive subject of the Roman see.

The letter to Leo was dated May 22, 1518. On the seventh of the following August Luther received a citation to Rome, where Sylvester Prierias, his first opponent, was appointed to hear and decide the cause. The manifest injustice of this appointment, and the apprehensions for his personal safety, which were reasonably entertained by his friends, should he repair to Rome, led to an active interference in his behalf, in which the

elector of Saxony honorably distinguished himself. It was so far successful, that the summons to Rome was withdrawn. Cardinal Cajetan, who was at that time attending a diet of the empire at Augsburg, as papal legate, was intrusted with a commission to inquire into the merits of the case, and take proper measures for the suppression of any heresy he might detect in the opinions of Luther. In the brief addressed to him the most violent language was used. Should Luther refuse to retract his error, he was to be forthwith seized and sent to Rome. If it should be found impossible to get possession of his person, he was to be outlawed, and, with all his adherents, excommunicated. If any princes, prelates, states, or cities should venture to offer him an asylum, they were to be placed under an interdict; and whoever should refuse or neglect to obey the legate's order should be declared infamous, and stripped of their possessions. But Luther was not appalled. Many of his friends, alarmed on his account, advised him to withdraw from the conflict and conceal himself for a while. But they could not prevail. "Cowardly men," said he, "wish me not to go to Augsburg; but I am resolved to be there. Let the will of the Lord be done! Jesus Christ reigns at Augsburg, and even in the midst of his enemies. Let Christ live; let Luther and every sinner die: according as it is written, 'Let the God of my salvation be exalted.'"

The crafty legate labored hard to get Luther in his power, that he might deal with him according to the papal brief; but his designs were mercifully prevented. Advised by his friends, (Staupitz and some others who had joined him,) he declined appearing till he had procured a safe-conduct from the emperor. Strenuous efforts were made to induce him to change his mind, but in vain; he would not stir from the Augustinian convent, where he was entertained, till he was assured of security. At length the safe-conduct arrived, and he immediately appeared before the legate. On three successive days Cajetan exhausted his powers in the fruitless attempt to persuade Luther to retract, or submit. He threatened, entreated, argued, promised, proposed conditions. If the reformer would only recall what he had advanced against indulgences, and promise to keep silence on that subject in future, he might preach as he would about justification and faith, and hold what sentiments he pleased; but neither the pope's authority nor his coffers must be touched. On the other hand, Luther required to be convinced. He must be shown his error from Scripture, or he would not yield. This was more than the cardinal could do; to him, therefore, the close of the conference was most unsatisfactory. The German monk was too much for him. He could not overcome in argument, and the imperial safe-conduct prevented the employment of violent

measures. Nevertheless, there was reason to fear that Luther's safety might be compromised by a longer stay at Augsburg. In compliance with the suggestions of his friends, he left the place, escaped whatever dangers were in his way, and reached Wittemberg, Oct. 30. He left a letter addressed to the legate, in which he respectfully stated the reasons of his departure, and appealed from pope Leo, misinformed as he then was in regard to the true merits of the case, to the same pope, when he should be better informed. A copy of this singular appeal was affixed to the gate of the cathedral.

Enraged at Luther's escape, Cajetan wrote to the elector, requiring him to withdraw his protection from the reformer, and to send him to Rome for trial. Both requests were refused. Luther resumed his official duties with fresh ardor, encouraged by the immense influx of students, who flocked to the university from all the surrounding provinces, attracted by his growing fame. His lectures and sermons prepared many a generous spirit for the approaching warfare.

Luther had always declared his willingness to submit to the church. Leo understood it to mean submission to himself, and therefore issued a new bull, re-stating the Romish doctrine of indulgences, while he rebuked and disavowed the excesses of such men as Tetzel, calling upon all men to receive it, and threatening with excommunication,

and its terrible consequences, those who should dare to refuse submission. But Leo was not the church. He was as liable to error, sin, and falsehood, as other men. Luther foresaw the storm, and sought shelter ere it burst upon him. He appealed from the pope to a general council, the church representative, according to the doctrine of those days. The appeal was dated Nov. 28, 1518.

Three months before this, Melancthon settled at Wittemberg, as Greek professor in the university. Agreeing generally with Luther in theological sentiments, he warmly seconded his efforts. Their mutual attachment was strong, and their confidence in each other continued unshaken. In character, as well as in attainments, they differed much; yet the difference was not such as to prevent union or harmony. If the gentleness of Melancthon was apt to degenerate into indecision, the boldness of Luther sometimes hurried him into rash measures; while, on the other hand, the impetuosity of Luther was tempered by the prudence of Melancthon. Luther was fitted for action, Melancthon for counsel. The latter could plan the battle; the former would take the field and fight. Each was admirably adapted for the work assigned him, and each required the aid and co-operation of the other.

Charles Miltitz, a noble Saxon, and chamberlain to the pope, was despatched to Germany on

a new mission. He bore the golden rose,* blessed by his holiness, which he was charged to present to the elector of Saxony, in the hope that his acquiescence in the determination to crush Luther might be thereby procured. The reformer was to be apprehended and conveyed to Rome, there to meet his fate. But God had otherwise ordered. Miltitz soon found that his errand was hopeless. As he travelled through Germany he ascertained, to his great mortification, that the popular feeling was very generally on Luther's side. On his arrival at Altenburg, in January, 1519, he sent for Tetzel and Luther: the former sent an excuse, alleging the danger of exposing himself in a part of the country where the influence of his opponent was paramount; the latter immediately obeyed the summons. In the conference which followed, the papal envoy treated Luther with great respect, and so far prevailed upon him, that he consented to be silent for the future on the subject in dispute, if the pope would enjoin the like silence on his antagonist; to refer the whole matter in debate to the decision of certain German prelates; to write a submissive letter to the

* The golden rose, consecrated by the pope, was annually sent to some foreign prince, as a mark of special friendship. It was always highly valued. Three or four years before, when the elector of Saxony was a bigoted adherent of Rome, he had earnestly solicited this mark of favor, but without success. Now it came too late.

pope; and to publish an exhortation to the people, urging them also to submission. This negociation proved fruitless. The conditions were fulfilled on Luther's part, who wrote to the pope in a strain which he most certainly would not have adopted in following years; but Cajetan, whom Miltitz consulted, was not prepared to accede to the proposed terms. Retractation was again offensively suggested. The opportunity for agreement was sacrificed, and never returned.*

The dispute at Leipsic was an event which made a great noise at the time, and eventually furthered the Reformation. Eck, Luther's former opponent, and Carlstadt, one of the Wittemberg divines, were the combatants. At first Luther was only a hearer; duke George, in whose dominions Leipsic was situated, having refused to allow him to speak. Afterwards, however, he withdrew the prohibition, and the two doctors entered the lists. The contest lasted several days. Each party claimed the victory. In private, Eck confessed that he was worsted, but

* Miltitz saw Tetzel at Leipsic, and used him very roughly. He loaded him with reproaches for his indiscreet conduct, accused him of being the author of all the mischief that had followed. and threatened him with the indignation of the pope. It appeared, also, that there was considerable discrepancy in his money accounts. He had been either guilty of a most reckless expenditure, or of embezzlement. He sunk under the storm, and died shortly afterwards, overwhelmed with grief and mortification

his admirers loudly boasted of his superiority. It is certain that the cause of reform was advanced. Several distinguished men were gained at Leipsic.*

The light began to shine in other countries. Zuingle was preaching the Gospel in Switzerland with encouraging success. Frobenias, of Basle, printed an edition of such of Luther's works as were then published, which was extensively circulated, and received by thousands with admiration and joy. Six hundred copies were sold in France and Spain. They were read with avidity in the Low Countries and England. There were not wanting admirers even in Italy. The printer confessed that it was the best speculation he had ever made.

Continued study of the Scriptures increased the distance between Luther and Rome. As his mind became more enlightened he made known his convictions in his own plain and forcible manner, both from the pulpit and the press. His commentary on the Galatians, and several smaller works published in the year 1519, were highly serviceable to the cause of evangelical godliness. His

* Among these may be mentioned Poliander, who afterwards preached the Gospel at Leipsic; and Cellarius, Hebrew professor in the university. George, prince of Anhalt, then only twelve years of age, was present, and received impressions which ultimately led him to embrace and uphold the doctrines of the Reformation.

books were not the productions of a school divine—a mere dry practised thinker; they bore the impress of his fervid soul, appealed to the best feelings of men, and soon engaged a large amount of sympathy with the writer. But the most extraordinary fruit of his pen was an appeal to the emperor and the states of Germany, respecting reformation. In this important paper we are furnished with an index of the sentiments of the reformer at that time. He had evidently made large advances since the publication of his celebrated theses.

Having observed that the power and authority claimed for the pope and the hierarchy presented the greatest obstacles to reformation, he proceeds to show that those claims rested on an assumed distinction between the clergy and laity, which was altogether without warrant. "All christians," said he, "constitute the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them. . . . . We have all but one baptism, and one faith, and it is that which constitutes a man a spiritual person. The anointing, the tonsure, ordination, consecration, whether performed by a bishop or by the pope, may make a man a hypocrite, but cannot make him a spiritual man. . . . . If ten brothers, sons of a king, having equal right to the throne, should choose one of their number to govern in their name, they would all be kings, and yet one only would be the administrator of their common

government. So it is in the church. If a number of pious laymen should be banished to a desert, and while there, having among them no priest consecrated by a bishop, should choose one of themselves, married or single, that man would be as truly a priest as if all the bishops in the world had consecrated him. In this manner Augustine, Ambrose and Cyprian were chosen. It follows, that christians and priests, princes and bishops, or, as we commonly say, the clergy and laity, are distinguished from one another only by their functions. All belong to the same estate, but all have not the same work to do." Cited by D'Aubigné, i. 117.

This led him to maintain that the secular power ought to punish ecclesiastics, if they required punishment, and not to regard their boasted exemptions. He called upon the rulers of christendom to strip the pope and cardinals of their worldly wealth and honors, and put an end to the innumerable exactions by which the kingdoms of Europe had been reduced to poverty. "Let the emperor give the pope a Bible and prayer-book, so that he may let kings alone and content himself with praying and preaching."

Having exposed the pride and avarice of the papal legates, and the uselessness of the monks he assumed a still bolder tone, and demanded for the church a married priesthood, "according to the institution of Jesus Christ and his apostles,"

fearlessly asserting that "the devil had persuaded the pope to prohibit the marriage of the clergy." He proposed that the fasts and feasts of the church should be abolished, and no day but the Lord's day religiously observed. He would have heretics convinced by Scripture, as the ancient fathers did, and not conquered by fire. He counselled all parents to be careful not to send their children to any school or university where the word of God was not supreme. Finally, he urged the necessity of restraining the pope within the bounds of purely spiritual rule, and forcing him to cease from taxing and oppressing christian people. The appeal was published June 23, 1520. It was quickly circulated throughout all Germany, and produced a powerful excitement everywhere.

Eight days before the publication of the appeal the condemnation of Luther had been pronounced at Rome in a papal bull, containing forty-one "propositions," said to be extracted from his writings, for which he was excommunicated as a heretic, his books were to be burned, and he himself delivered over to punishment, unless he chose to avert the blow by retractation. Eck, his adversary at Leipsic, by whose persevering efforts Leo had been persuaded to issue the bull, was appointed papal nuncio, and commissioned to publish the bull in Germany and the Low Countries, and empowered to enforce obedience to its in

junctions. A more unwise and impolitic appointment could not have been made, as the result fully proved. Wherever he went he encountered obloquy and insult. In most places he was totally unable to execute his commission, so strong was the popular feeling in favor of Luther. In some parts of the Low Countries he succeeded in procuring submission, and publicly committed the reformer's books to the flames, with great glee and ill-concealed triumph. But his malice failed in accomplishing its purpose. Luther's cause was rather promoted than injured by these measures.*

* The Louvain divines sought an audience with Margaret, Charles the Fifth's regent in the Low Countries. "Luther subverts the christian faith," they said. "Who is Luther?" asked the princess. "An ignorant monk." "Very well," she replied; "do you, who are so learned and so numerous, write against him. The world will much rather believe a body of learned persons than a solitary ignorant man." This advice was not to their taste. They preferred the fire to the pen. On an appointed day a huge pile of wood was prepared for the destruction of Luther's books. During the ceremony a number of students and citizens pressed hastily through the croud, bearing large volumes which they threw into the flames. The attendant monks applauded their zeal, supposing that those volumes contained the writings of Luther. We may easily imagine how they were mortified when it was discovered that, instead of the works of the reformer, certain productions of the school divines, and other popish trash, had been thus ignominiously consumed.

The Dominicans of Holland applied to the count of Nassau, the viceroy, for permission to burn Luther's books in obedience to the bull. His only answer was, "Go and preach the Gospel

General inquiry was excited, and the condemned books were read by many who otherwise would not have heard of them, or ventured to look into their pages.

The publication of the bull was an open proclamation of war. So Luther understood it; and he was prepared. God had guided him into the truth by slow degrees; but he made good his footing as he advanced, and did not hesitate to announce his progress to the world, however unpalatable it might be to those who occupied the high places of spiritual rule. A striking instance of this appears in his work entitled, "The Babylonish Captivity," which was published in October, 1520. This was the hardest blow that had been yet given to the doctrines and government of Rome. The oppressions of the papacy were fearlessly exposed in language of the boldest character; christian truth was clearly set forth; and the rights and liberties of the true church were asserted. Luther braved the fury of the storm with undaunted courage. He quailed before no man—prince, emperor, bishop, or pope. "I am informed," in these words he closed the volume, "that fresh papal excommunications are in preparation against me. If it be so, the present work may be regarded as a part of my future retractation. The rest will soon fol-

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better than Luther, and you will have no reason to complain of any one."

low in proof of my obedience, and the whole will form, by Christ's help, a production the like of which Rome has never yet seen or heard."

Shortly afterwards Luther solemnly appealed once more from the pope to a general council. At the same time he published a tract "Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist," and a defence of the articles condemned in it. In both these compositions he treated the pope and the cardinals with little ceremony. "I admonish you all in the Lord, that you return to your senses, and put an end to your diabolical blasphemies and most audacious impieties, and that speedily. For if you fail in this, be warned that I, and all who believe in Christ, will hold your see, possessed as it is and oppressed by Satan, for the condemned see of antichrist; so as not only to withdraw our obedience, our subjection, our connexion, but to detest and execrate it as the first and foremost among the enemies of Christ."

A bolder act followed. On the 10th of December a pile of wood was prepared in a public place, near one of the gates of Wittemberg. Thither Luther repaired, at the head of a vast procession, composed of the professors and students of the university and the inhabitants of the place. Arrived at the spot, he caused the pile to be lighted, and then threw into the flames the book of the canon law, the decrees, the decretals—the entire statutes of the papacy. Last of all, the bull of

condemnation was cast in: Luther exclaimed, "Because thou hast troubled and put to shame the Holy One of the Lord, so be thou troubled and consumed by the eternal fires of hell." Next day, at the close of his accustomed lecture on the Psalms, he addressed his hearers to the following effect: "Unless you resist with all your heart the impious government of the pope, you cannot be saved. Whoever takes pleasure in the religion and worship of the papacy will be eternally punished in the life that is to come." After this there could be no peace with Rome.

The pope was now equally ready for the conflict. Two nuncios, Caraccioli and Aleander had been sent into Germany, ostensibly for the purpose of attending the coronation of the new emperor, but really to use every effort for the execution of the bull against Luther. Aleander, who took the lead, was admirably qualified for the post he was called to fill. Skilled in intrigue, and fired with indignation against the new heresy, he was prepared for acts of negotiation or deeds of vengeance, as opportunity might serve. As they travelled from place to place, the nuncios signalized their loyalty to Leo by burning Luther's books; and thundering out the anathemas of the church against their author. At Cologne they met the elector of Saxony returning from the coronation of the emperor. In an interview with that prince they demanded his obedience to the

bull, and required of him to punish Luther, or to send him to Rome, to be dealt with according to law. The elector's answer was far from satisfactory: he told the nuncios that he was by no means convinced that Luther was in error: when that was proved, justice might take its course; but till then he should continue to protect his favorite divine.

Foiled in this attempt, they turned their attention to the emperor. His young and ardent mind was easily impressed. It was highly flattering to be appealed to by the ministers of the pope, and invited to execute the commands of the head of the church on earth. Charles V. consented to be the instrument of Leo's vengeance.

Meanwhile the influence of Luther on the public mind of Germany increased daily. The university of Wittemberg was thronged with students from every quarter; its streets were filled with visiters anxious to see the man whose writings were diffusing the light of truth throughout Europe. Letters of congratulation poured in upon him from persons of high consideration in learning and rank; three presses were constantly at work supplying the unparalleled demand for his productions; and other friends of reform, animated by his boldness, hurled many a blow at the common foe. All Germany was in commotion.

On the 3d of January, 1521, Leo issued a second bull. The first was conditional, giving Luther time to retract, and suspending the condem-

nation on his submission. In the second that condemnation was definitively pronounced. He was now declared to be an incorrigible heretic, fitted for destruction. The time was artfully chosen. A grand diet of the empire was about to be held, at which the emperor and all the princes of Germany would be present. Aleander received directions to attend it, and to demand, on the part of his master, the employment of the secular arm for the suppression of the rising heresy. The publication of the bull at that juncture was well calculated to alarm the timid, decide the unwavering, and overawe all.

SECTION III.

THE DIET OF WORMS.

The Diet of Worms was opened January 6, 1521. A more splendid assembly has been scarcely ever held. The nobles of Germany were anxious to do honor to the court of their young emperor, and to testify their dutiful regards. They vied with each other in the costliness of their equipments, and the number and rank of their attendants. It seemed as if the wealth of the empire had been collected together at one place for proud display The occasion, too, was unusually interesting and important. In addition to political affairs of pressing urgency, the

state of religion called for anxious deliberation. The cry for reform was heard on every hand. All saw that the disease required prompt attention; but none knew what means to suggest, while danger was daily increasing.

Aleander, the papal nuncio, was true to his master's interests. On his arrival at Worms he exerted himself to the utmost to procure the immediate condemnation of Luther. He would have had him proscribed and put to the ban of the empire, that his party might be crushed by one vigorous blow. But this was found to be impracticable. The reformer's opinions had taken too deep root to be easily plucked up. Some even talked of taking the whole matter out of the pope's hands, and referring the decision to impartial judges, chosen by the principal potentates of Europe. Aleander was perplexed and enraged. Still he persevered, sometimes applying to the emperor, sometimes to his ministers and other members of the diet, among whom he scattered profusely large sums of money intrusted to him by the court of Rome. At length he succeeded, by force of bribes and intrigue, in obtaining permission to address the assembled diet. He appeared before them on the 13th of February, and spoke for three hours in a strain of impassioned eloquence. Luther was described as a monster of iniquity, whose crimes ought to be visited with the utmost severity of the laws. His opinions were artfully repre-

sented as opposed to the solemn doctrines of the church, and fraught with peril to souls. He had sinned against the powers below, the nuncio affirmed, by denying purgatory, though that doctrine had been established by the Council of Florence, in the presence of the emperor of Constantinople, who had then acknowledged the pope as head of the whole christian church. He had sinned against the powers above; for he had affirmed that if an angel from heaven were to teach otherwise, he would not believe him. He had sinned against the whole clergy; because, in his book on the Babylonish Captivity he had maintained that all christians are priests; and to another of his books a frontispiece was prefixed, representing two dogs biting one another, whereby was denoted the enmity existing between the laity and the clerical orders. He had sinned against the saints, whose books he had despised. He had sinned against the world, by prohibiting the infliction of capital punishment on any who had not committed mortal sin. He had sinned against the councils, especially that of Constance, which he had called "the sink of the devil!" His condemnation was declared to be essential to the safety of Germany. Seckendorf, Com. de Luth. lib. i. sect. 37, 91.

It was not the will of God that Luther should be condemned unheard. He must bear his testimony before princes. Much to the chagrin of

Aleander, Luther was summoned to the diet, that he might in person avow or retract the opinions imputed to him, and be dealt with accordingly. With the summons an ample safe-conduct was transmitted, guaranteeing his security in going and returning; signed, not only by the emperor, but also by those princes through whose states it would be necessary for him to travel. For this precaution he was indebted to the elector of Saxony, who knew the men with whom he had to deal, and positively refused to allow the reformer to leave Wittemberg without that security. This was another mortification to Aleander, who was fully prepared to act over again the iniquity of the infamous Council of Constance, which caused Huss to be seized and burned, notwithstanding the assurance given for his safety. But he was compelled to submit.

The friends of Luther expressed much alarm on his account. He only was unmoved.* "If Jesus Christ do but aid me," he exclaimed, "I am determined never to fly from the field, nor desert the word of God. . . . . Should they light

* Offers of protection had been already made to him by certain powerful nobles who had embraced his sentiments. But he chose rather to commit himself and the cause which was so dear to him to the care of God, believing that he who had so wonderfully directed his mind in his researches, and enabled him to expose long-standing abominations, would not fail him in the hour of need. That hope was not disappointed.

a fire which should blaze as high as heaven, and reach from Wittemberg to Worms, at Worms I will still appear in the name of the Lord, and overthrow the Behemoth. . . . . I hear that the emperor has published a mandate to terrify me. But Christ lives in spite of it; and I will enter Worms, though all the gates of hell and the powers of darkness should oppose me."

Both friends and enemies feared his approach. The former, because they trembled for his safety; the latter, dreading the influence of his reasoning and eloquence. Strenuous endeavors were made to prevent him from appearing at the diet. The papal party tempted him with the hope of an amicable adjustment: the advocates of truth sought to excite his apprehensions. All their efforts failed. "Tell your master," he said to a messenger from Spalatin, "that though there should be as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses, I would go."

He entered the city on the 16th of April. The day after his arrival he was summoned to attend the diet. On the morning of that day his soul had endured unwonted depression, almost amounting to anguish. But in his distress he sought the Lord with strong crying and tears, and was graciously heard. Peace returned, and holy, undaunted courage again filled his spirit. He cheerfully attended the officer who was appointed to conduct him to the hall of audience. He reached

the place with some difficulty, so great was the crowd that thronged every avenue, in eager curiosity to see the man whose fame had spread throughout Germany, and on whom the thunders of the Vatican had hitherto fallen harmlessly. At length he stood before the august assembly. The emperor occupied the throne. Next to him sat his brother, the arch-duke Ferdinand. Six electors of the empire were present; twenty four dukes; eight margraves; thirty prelates; seven ambassadors; the deputies of ten free cities; princes, counts and barons; the papal nuncios; in all, two hundred and four noble and illustrious personages. The countenances of many betrayed deep inward concern and anxiety. Luther had held communion with God, and enjoyed "perfect peace."

On the table was laid a collection of his writings. He was asked whether he acknowledged them as his productions, and whether he was prepared to retract the opinions they contained. To the first question he answered in the affirmative. To the second he replied that the question was very serious and important, and ought not to be answered without due consideration, lest he should in any way injure the cause of truth; he asked, therefore, for a brief delay. So reasonable a request could not be refused. Next day he appeared again. The questions were repeated. Luther then addressed the assembly. He had ac-

knowledged, he said, the books on the table to be his. Their contents differed much from each other. In some, he had treated of faith and works, unmasking the errors of the age; he could not retract them without treachery to the Gospel. A second class consisted of writings in which he had exposed the enormous corruptions and abuses of the papacy; these were so notorious, and had been so long and so justly the subjects of loud complaint in Germany, that it would be worse than folly to suppress the works in which they were held up to public reprobation. In the third place, he had in some of his books attacked individuals who had advocated existing evils; and he was willing to confess (for he could not pretend to be free from fault) that he had sometimes written with unbecoming violence: yet he could not retract the sentiments advanced in those writings, because such a course would encourage the enemies of the truth, and embolden them in their opposition. Wherefore he prayed that instead of persisting in the demand for retractation, the diet would take measures to convince him, from the Scriptures, of his error. As soon as he should be convinced, he would immediately acknowledge it.

"You have not answered the question," said the chancellor of the archbishop of Treves, to whom the management of this part of the business was intrusted. "A clear and express reply is required. Will you or will you not retract?" The

reformer's answer was worthy of him. "Since your most serene majesty, and the princes, require a simple answer, I will give it thus: unless I shall be convinced by proofs from Scripture, or by evident reason, (for I believe neither in popes nor in councils, since they have frequently erred and contradicted themselves,) I cannot choose but adhere to the word of God, which has possession of my conscience. Nor can I possibly, nor will I ever make any recantation, since it is neither safe nor honest to act contrary to conscience. Here I take my stand; I cannot do otherwise. God be my help! Amen." This speech made a deep impression. The emperor himself was struck with admiration. "If you will not retract," resumed the chancellor, "the emperor and the states of the empire will see what ought to be done with an obstinate heretic." "God be my help," rejoined Luther; "I can retract nothing." He then withdrew, leaving the diet in deliberation. When he was called in again, another effort was made. His appeal to Scripture was treated with contempt, since he had revived errors which had been condemned by the Council of Constance; as if the authority of the Council of Constance were superior to that of the word of God! In conclusion, the chancellor said, "The emperor commands you to say simply, yes or no, whether you mean to maintain whatever you have advanced, or whether you will retract a part?" "I have no

other answer to give than what I have already given," replied Luther.

Having thus borne a noble testimony to the truth, he left the assembly amidst the acclamations of his friends and the yells and hisses of the Papists. His place of abode was the rendezvous for kindred spirits, who pressed to offer their congratulations and sympathy, and to encourage him in maintaining the conflict. But amongst the enemy confusion and doubt prevailed. It was resolved to make another attempt. The archbishop of Treves, to whom the affair was committed, was very anxious for success. He had several interviews with Luther, and labored hard to induce him to submit his opinions to the diet, or to a general council. But his efforts were employed in vain; Luther would not sacrifice the word of God. "I will put my person and my life in the emperor's hands," said he; "but the word of God —never!" He claimed for every christian the right of private judgment: if he consented to a council, it would only be on condition that the council should be compelled to judge according to Scripture.

Protracted debates followed. Some counselled the violation of the safe-conduct, and urged the emperor to seize Luther, and put him to death. But the high-minded princes of Germany scorned the base proposal. Charles himself, bigoted as he was, revolted at it. "If good faith were banish-

ed from the whole earth," he exclaimed, "it ought still to find refuge in the courts of kings."

Having received permission, Luther left Worms on the 26th of April, and proceeded by gentle stages on his way to Wittemberg. He had reached the borders of the Thuringian forest, near Altenstein, when he was attacked by five armed and masked horsemen, who placed him on a spare horse, and conducted him by a long and circuitous route to an old castle, where he was to remain in honorable confinement.

The castle of Wartburg, an ancient residence of the landgraves of Thuringia, was the place of his temporary exile. His seclusion there was planned by his friends, with the knowledge of the elector of Saxony; and, as some supposed, with the connivance of the emperor himself, who, however determined he might be to uphold the papacy, would not incur the indignation of Germany by laying the hand of violence on the reformer.

After Luther's departure the diet was torn with fierce contentions; ultimately, however, the Romish policy prevailed. The edict of Worms, procured by the indefatigable efforts of the papal nuncios, proscribed Luther and his adherents, ordering them to be seized and delivered up to the authorities; condemned his writings; and proclaimed a war of extermination against the cause he advocated. The nuncios exulted in their triumph, though they were well aware that in the

existing state of feeling in Germany, it would be impossible to execute the edict without exposing the country to the horrors of civil war. But neither they nor their master cared what miseries were inflicted on others, so that the treasury of the church was replenished, and its authority maintained. "Two sayings are recorded of Aleander, which prove that he was capable of himself inflicting the calamities which he affected to deprecate. 'If you, Germans,' he said at an earlier period, 'who of all christian nations make the poorest contributions to the court of Rome, shall shake off the yoke of the pope, we, on our parts, will carefully provide that you shall perish in your own blood, shed by each others' hands.' And when the labors of the diet were at last at an end, he addressed to his colleague, Caraccioli, the following words, as a sort of commentary on their first disappointment, and their final success: —'Well, Caraccioli! if we have effected nothing very splendid at this diet, yet it is certain that by this edict we have turned the whole country into one great slaughter-house, in which the Germans, raging against their own entrails, will be speedily suffocated in their own blood!'" Waddington's History of the Reformation, i. 369.

SECTION IV.

THE PROGRESS OF REFORM.

Wartburg is a hallowed spot. There Luther composed works which mightily tended to shake the Romish power in Germany. Auricular confession, private masses, and monastic vows were the themes on which his resistless eloquence was employed. He held them up to the indignant reprobation of men, and satisfactorily proved that they are alike opposed to the word of God and to christian freedom. But his greatest work was the translation of the New Testament into the German language. That also was executed at Wartburg. It is the noblest monument of his genius, and was the most precious gift that Germany had yet received. The volume was published in September, 1522, and was received with gratitude and joy by those who loved the truth; but denounced, vilified, and in many places publicly burned by the bigoted Romanists.

The leaven worked powerfully at Wittemberg during Luther's absence. Hitherto the friends of reform had been satisfied with avowing and defending their principles; the application of those principles to practice had not yet been contemplated. At length the time of action arrived. Thirteen monks left the Augustinian convent and renounced their vows. Feldkirchen, pastor

of Kemberg, one of Luther's earliest associates, married. Several other priests followed his example. On Christmas day, 1521, Carlstadt publicly restored the Lord's supper to the people, administering it in both kinds, and using the German language. These were important events. They were the beginnings of the actual reformation. Nor was it at Wittemberg only that the great work advanced. At Erfurth, Friberg, and other places, advocates for the Gospel were raised up, by whom the doctrines of the Bible were zealously maintained and widely disseminated.

Certain disorders which had broken out at Wittemberg, in consequence of the haste and violence with which Carlstadt introduced external reform, together with the rise of a fanatical spirit, threatening for a time great danger, induced Luther to return to his post, though at the hazard of his life. He re-entered Wittemberg, March 6, 1522, and immediately resumed his beloved labors, with his accustomed success.

Of the many productions of his pen issued about this time, a tract against the pope and the bishops, and his reply to Henry the Eighth's book on the seven sacraments, were the most powerful. The boldness of his manner and the freedom of his sentiments exasperated the foes of the Gospel. But it was only by the force of argument that he wished to prevail; he abjured

all recourse to the secular power, and taught the strange doctrine—strange even to real christians in that age, and still strange to some—that truth is to be spread and defended, not by fire and sword, but by the word of God and the power of moral suasion. Nor did he restrict the use and interpretation of the sacred volume. He maintained, in the most unreserved manner, the right of private judgment. "The right," he said, "of inquiring and judging, concerning matters of faith, belongs to christians all and individually; and so entirely belongs to them, that cursed be he who would curtail this right by a single hair's breadth. Christ has established it by many irrefragable declarations. . . . . Then not only is it their right but their duty to form such judgments; and this authority easily overbalances the opinions of all the pontiffs, of all the fathers, the councils, the schools, which confine that right to the bishops and ministers, and impiously and sacrilegiously ravish it from the people, who are in truth the church." Waddington's Hist. ii. 26.

On the death of Leo X. December 2, 1521, the papal throne was filled by Adrian VI. a well-meaning bigot, whose measures pleased neither party. His nuncio, Cheregate, attended the Diet of Nuremberg, and after exhorting the assembled princes to carry into execution the edict of Worms, expressed, in the name of his master, a deep sense of the necessity of reform. The latter

part of his speech was promptly echoed by the diet, in the publication of the document styled, "The Hundred Grievances," announcing to the world the enormities which had been long practised with impunity in Germany.* No practical good resulted from this measure. Yet, on the other hand, no evil followed. The diet declined to respond to the admonitions they had received, to put down this new movement by force; and

* Ecclesiastical processes carried to Rome instead of being conducted on the spot; interference with the rights of churches by dispensations, and other measures of a similar tendency; the bestowment of the best benefices on cardinals; the ignorance and general incapacity of the priesthood; reservations of benefices; the temporal punishments involved in the sentence of excommunication; the payments demanded by the clergy for the administration of sacraments; the oppressiveness of papal taxation; the demoralization occasioned by absolutions and indulgences; the licences to the clergy to keep concubines; the immorality of the spiritual order; and their exemption from secular jurisdiction in criminal causes. Such were some of the principal grievances pointed out in this remarkable document.

"The grievances were divided under three heads: those which enslaved the people; those which plundered them; those which deprived them of legitimate access to justice. They touched no doctrine; they disturbed no ceremony or practice; all that department of the church might have continued to flourish with the perfect consent of the rulers of the people, if Rome would have made some concession in rapacity and ambition. Yet must it be mentioned that, even in these moderate representations, made within the pale of the strictest orthodoxy—even after the avowal of the pope himself—the ecclesiastics would take no part; and that the Hundred Grievances of Nuremberg were drawn up entirely by the hands of laymen." Waddington, ii. 44.

Luther was consequently emboldened to introduce some innovations in worship, embodying his well-known principles. His first efforts were modest and limited. The ceremonies used in baptism were retrenched; the adoration of the host was prohibited; communion in both kinds was established; numerous festivals were abolished; portions of Scripture were directed to be read in the public service; frequent preaching was recommended, with catechetical instruction of communicants. With a view to encourage singing, as an important part of public worship, the Psalms were turned into German verse, and hymns composed in the same language. All persons were exhorted to read diligently the sacred Scriptures.

By these prudent and cautious measures the way was prepared for further changes, when the public mind should be fitted to receive them. Precipitancy could not be laid to the charge of Luther. His uniform policy was, to instruct the people first, and then to reduce the instructions to practice by gradual methods. The changes which have been now mentioned were adopted in many places, in compliance with his recommendations, and with such modifications as the parties thought fit to introduce. Their adoption was in every instance preceded by the faithful preaching of the Gospel. When the love of truth was deeply implanted in the hearts of men, they could no longer practise the superstitions by which the truth was

hidden or perverted. These ecclesiastical revolutions took place at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Strasburg, Ulm, Halle, Bremen, Magdeburg, Nuremberg, and Hamburg; at Stettin, Sunda, and Stolpen in Pomerania; and throughout the duchies of Mecklenburg and Holstein. The bishops of Samland and Breslau favored the good cause; and Frederic, elector palatine, Louis, count palatine, and the landgrave of Hesse, encouraged the propagation of the Gospel and the suppression of superstitious practices in their respective territories.

Adrian VI. died in September, 1523, and was succeeded by Clement VII. a man of very different character, who immediately rescinded all the reforming measures of his predecessor. Campeggio, his nuncio at the Diet of Nuremberg, assembled in the spring of the following year, was extremely mortified to find that he was unable to procure the suppression of the new opinions by force. He succeeded, however, in forming a league between the princes who continued faithful to the papacy, by which they were mutually bound to prevent all innovation in their dominions, and to extirpate heresy as far as possible.

The elector of Saxony died May 5, 1525, in the faith of the Gospel. His name will be ever revered for his faithful friendship to Luther. John Frederick, his successor, trod in his steps. To his fostering care the Reformation in Germany was deeply indebted.

In the following month Luther married. This event seemed to give a temporary triumph to the enemies of the truth, who regarded it as the act of a perjured monk. But it was entirely consistent with his altered views. He had some time before renounced the monastic profession, and his marriage was therefore the practical developement of the sentiments which he now held to be most consonant with the word of God. Katherine à Bora, the object of his choice, was one of nine nuns who had voluntarily left their convent about two years before, that they might re-enter into life and fulfil the duties which Providence has assigned to the female sex. It was a wise and happy union.

About the same time the cause of reform received considerable addition of numbers and strength. The city of Dantzic was gained. Oldenburg, Hannau, and Tecklenburg joined the followers of the truth. Albert, grand master of the Teutonic order, embraced the principles of the Reformation, with nearly all his knights, and entered into the matrimonial state. The establishment of the dukedom of Prussia was the result. Albert was the first duke.

In other parts of Germany persecution did its bloody work. The ecclesiastics stirred up the populace to execute summary vengeance on the messengers of truth. At Buda, in Hungary, a bookseller who had exerted himself to circulate

the New Testament and Luther's writings, was fastened to a stake, around which a pile of his books was raised, and burned to death. The most horrible cruelties were perpetrated in Wurberg. Some were hanged on the trees of the forest. Many preachers were nailed to posts by their tongues, and left to extricate themselves as they could. Bavaria was desolated by the storm. Holstein was the scene of the barbarous murder of Henry of Zutphen, an eminent minister of Christ. Having repaired to Mohldorf, at the invitation of the pastor, to preach the Gospel, he was seized in the dead of night by a savage mob, headed by a Dominican monk, and having undergone the mockery of an unrighteous trial, was cruelly put to death.

If these events filled Luther with sorrow for the sufferings of his friends and brethren, he saw in them the natural workings of the spirit of ungodliness, and rejoiced in the assurance that Satan was alarmed for his kingdom. The war of the peasants affected him differently. That occasioned unmingled grief and indignation: grief for the miseries inflicted on the misguided people, who had been goaded to rebellion by long-continued oppressions; and indignation at the fanaticism of the leaders of the revolt, and the reproach most undeservedly cast on the principles of the Reformation, as though they had been the immediate and direct cause of the movement. This has been fre-

quently asserted, but never proved. In fact, the first rising took place in the dominions of those ecclesiastical princes who had withstood the Gospel, and prohibited the efforts of the reformers. That it assumed a religious aspect is well known; but for this Luther was not accountable. Neither had the insurgents the slightest connexion with him. If they misunderstood and misapplied the principles he had inculcated, that surely was not his fault: it is certain, that their employment of force in the cause of religion was utterly at variance with his oft-repeated sentiments. This unhappy warfare was another demand on his energies. A great part of the years 1524 and 1525 was thus consumed. He visited many places where the insurrection had broken out, striving to restore the people to a peaceable state; he exposed the false pretensions of Munzer and his associates; he exhorted the princes of Germany to gentleness, conciliation, and justice. It was not till the peasants proved wholly intractable, and were desolating the country with their ruthless ravages, sparing no man, that his temper changed; and then, it must be confessed, he wrote in a strain unbecoming the character of a minister of the Gospel of peace, urging the authorities to adopt vigorous measures, and to execute judgment without delay.

However desirous the emperor was to extirpate heresy in Germany, he found it impossible to accomplish his wishes. Diets of the empire were

held at Augsburg in 1525, and at Spires in the following year, on both which occasions the imperial ambassadors strenuously urged the execution of the edict of Worms. But they were entirely unsuccessful. By the decree of the diet of Spires it was declared that the existing differences respecting religion could only be adjusted by a national or general council; the emperor was solicited to procure the convocation of such a meeting; meanwhile the princes determined to govern their states at their discretion, with due regard to previous enactments and to individual responsibility. This was vague enough; but nothing more decisive could be obtained, so powerful was the influence of reforming principles in the assembly.

Affairs remained in the same state for two or three years. The interval of peace was improved by Luther for the establishment of a settled church order in those states which had received the Reformation. The changes which he made in the ordinary service were few. Such customs and ceremonies as were manifestly profane or ridiculous were abolished. It was declared indifferent whether public worship was celebrated in German or in Latin; but the former was to be preferred, if the people were ignorant of the Latin language. Popish confession was set aside. Homilies were prepared for the use of such ministers as could not preach, and catechisms for the young. Some festival days were still retained; but the people

were admonished not to pray to the saints, there being but one Mediator, the Lord Jesus Christ. Notorious sinners were to be excluded from the Lord's supper. Images were not generally removed from the churches. The vestments and many of the old rites continued to be used. These concessions to ancient prejudices were avowedly permitted for a time, till the people should be better prepared for the more complete removal of superstitions. Arrangements were made for the extensive education of the young, to which purpose a portion of the revenues of suppressed monasteries was devoted. Insufficient preachers were to be removed and pensioned. Such as taught false doctrine were to be expelled, and, if they still persisted in propagating their opinions, to be banished. Superintendents were appointed, whose duty it was to inspect the districts allotted to them, and report from time to time to the supreme secular power.

These details will show that the first outward reformation was advocated on very moderate principles. Luther confessed that he cared little about the ceremonies, unless they were notoriously bad. He thought that if pure truth was assiduously preached, and provision made for general instruction, superstition would die a natural death. It is much to be regretted, however, that any restraint was laid on the free expression of individual opinion, although in less degree than formerly.

Truth, not force, is the proper antagonist of error.

Such was the reformation then established in Saxony. Similar changes were made in the dominions of the landgrave of Hesse, and in the other states and cities which had shaken off the papal yoke.

At a diet of the empire, held at Spires in the spring of the year 1529, the popish party was triumphant. The edict of the former diet was rescinded. Changes already made were to remain, but no new ones to be permitted; no alterations were to be allowed in those states which were still faithful to the old system; where the mass had been abolished, it was to be restored for the benefit of such as preferred that service; and the Gospel was to be preached according to the interpretation of the church, without allusions to disputed points.

Against this decree the adherents of the Reformation entered their solemn PROTEST. They owned no authority over the conscience, but that of God himself; they could not agree to subject the Scripture to the interpretation of the church, since the word of God was in itself sufficiently plain; to re-establish the mass would be to incur the guilt of impiety; all they demanded was, that every one should be protected in the exercise of his religion, whatever form of faith and worship he might choose to adopt: therefore they appealed from the diet to the emperor or to a free council, or

any competent judge. This protest was signed by six princes, and by the deputies of fourteen imperial cities.* It was immediately published and circulated throughout Germany. Hence arose the designation, "PROTESTANT," as applied to those who have separated from the church of Rome.

In the autumn of the same year was held the conference of Marburg. Though Luther rejected the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, he held an opinion scarcely removed from it, except in name. It is called "consubstantiation." The Romanists believe that the bread and wine are actually changed into the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, including the flesh and bones, and even the soul: Luther maintained that the body and blood of the Savior are present in and with the bread and wine, as light and heat penetrate different substances, those substances remaining unchanged. But Zuingle and other reformers in Switzerland had gone much further, and rejected these subtleties as unscriptural. They denied the real presence altogether, holding that the Redeemer is with his people spiritually, and in no other way. This difference alienated Luther from

* The princes were—the elector of Saxony; George of Brandenburg; Ernest and Francis of Lunenberg; Wolffgang of Anhalt; and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. The cities were—Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nordlingen, Heilbrun, Reutlingen, Isne, Weissemburg, Winsheim, and St. Gall.

many of his brethren. That he was convinced of the justness of his exposition, there is no doubt; but he did not hold the truth, as he understood it, in love; he was very intemperate in spirit, and uncharitable in conduct, towards those who professed opposite views. An open rupture seemed unavoidable, and as it would have proved highly favorable to the Romish cause, the papists did every thing in their power to promote it. The landgrave of Hesse was extremely anxious to prevent an occurrence so much to be deprecated. He employed the mediation of Bucer, by whose means a conference was arranged between the contending parties. It was held at Marburg, during the first three days of the month of October, 1529. Luther and Melancthon appeared on one side, and Zuingle and Ecolampadius on the other. It was unproductive of the desired results, each party remaining of the same opinion, and refusing to yield or to approximate to the other in the least degree. But they admitted each other's general orthodoxy, and subscribed a form of concord, testifying their union in the faith in all essential points. Thus, while reformers agreed on all the leading and essential truths of the Gospel, they differed as to their views and opinions on the ordinances. These differences did much to retard the progress of the truth, from the undue stress laid on them by Luther and others.

The emperor was resolved to put an end to the

disputes about religion, either by gentle or violent measures. The pope urged him to the latter, steadfastly refusing to summon a council, a measure which he justly dreaded, as he was of illegitimate birth, and therefore ineligible for the popedom. After long negotiations it was determined to convene another diet of the empire, at which a final effort should be made to reclaim the Protestants. If it failed, recourse was to be had to force.

Augsburg was the appointed place of meeting. The diet was opened in May, 1530, and was very numerously attended. Three protestant divines, Melancthon, Spalatin, and Justus Jonas were selected to assist in conducting the negotiations, and to plead the cause of truth. Luther watched the proceedings of the meeting from the castle of Coburg, a fortress which belonged to the elector of Saxony, situated midway between Wittemberg and Augsburg. It would have been obviously unwise, and probably unsafe, for him to be present on the occasion.

A confession of faith had been prepared, as the manifesto of the protestant party. It is now known in history as the "Confession of Augsburg." Melancthon was its principal author; but it received the approval and sanction of Luther and other divines. Great care had been taken in preparing it, so as not needlessly to shock the prejudices of the Romanists. Of the twenty-eight

articles of which it was composed, twenty-one treated of doctrines, and the remaining seven exposed abuses. The doctrines of the Trinity, original sin, and the incarnation and atonement of the Savior, were clearly set forth. Justification by faith in Christ, in opposition to human works or merits, yet uniformly producing obedience, was firmly maintained. Uniformity in ceremonies was declared to be unnecessary. In reference to the Lord's supper, it was affirmed "that the true body and true blood of the Lord are in deed present, under the species of bread and wine, in the Lord's supper." Private confession was retained in the church, but without insisting on an exact enumeration of the sins which had been committed. Ceremonies were not to be inculcated as necessary for salvation, or as meriting grace. The merit of good works was wholly abjured. The saints were to be imitated, but not invoked. The abuses mentioned were—the retrenchment of the cup; the celibacy of the clergy; the exaction of money for masses; the enforcement of a specific enumeration of sins in confession; abstinence from peculiar meats; monastic vows; and the encroachments of ecclesiastics on the secular power. They stated, in conclusion, that other abuses might have been mentioned, such as indulgences, prilgrimages, &c.; but that it was their desire to say no more than was necessary to show the agreement of their doctrine and worship with

the word of God, and their innocence of having introduced any new or impious notions.*

* The following observations of Dr. Waddington are commended to the special attention of the reader:

"When we compare the tone of the confession of Augsburg with the controversial writings, or exegetical treatises, or even private correspondence, of the Reformers, we are struck not only with the moderation of its language, but with the cautious, if not timid exposition of some of the doctrines contained in it. It is evident that one great object with its composers was conciliation. They nourished a hope, that by professions of good-will and general orthodoxy; by proclaiming their adherence to the church in all essentials; by making it difficult to detect in their creed any indisputable tendency to schism or heresy; they might at least escape a positive sentence of condemnation. Therefore they took pains to show that the differences turned on questions not material, matters of ceremony, or observance, or discipline, placed for the most part within the dispensing power of the pope.

"To this end they did not expressly reduce the number of sacraments, while they retained among them confession, absolution, and ordination. They refrained (in the 18th article) from pressing the doctrine of justification to the limits to which Luther carried it. In the fifth, ninth, and other articles, they disclaimed the Anabaptists. In the tenth they rejected, though not by name, the Sacramentaries. Indeed, their doctrine on the nature of the elements was so generally expressed, without any disapproval of the catholic tenet, without any mention of the word transubstantiation, as to leave it at least doubtful whether they had any difference with the church on that most important point. Their article on the abuse of the mass was written in the same spirit. They professed to repudiate certain ceremonies connected with it, and also the celebration of private masses; but to retain the substance as held by the church. And therefore, when they came to treat of the sacrifice, which was indeed the essential part, they avoided any express declaration of opinion, and con-

The emperor was anxious to prevent the public reading of this important document. But the protestant leaders insisted on their right to be heard by the whole diet, and they carried their point. The confession was publicly read on the 25th of June, by Christopher, the elector's chancellor, both in Latin and German, in the presence of a numerous assembly. It produced a powerful effect. The tenets of the reformers had been so misrepresented and slandered, that men were astonished at hearing such pure sentiments and just claims expressed in language so moderate and gentle. Even the emperor himself is said to have thought much more favorably of Protestantism from this time. But he was irrevocably pledged to the pope. Nor did he wish to say or do any thing that might tend in the slightest degree to lessen the esteem in which he was ambitious of being held, as the grand protector of the faith. At the same time he was anxious to avoid the

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tented themselves with asserting that the sacrament did not possess any efficacy, which no intelligent Roman Catholic was probably prepared to ascribe to it.

"As means of conciliating the pope and his hierarchy, such expedients were worse than useless. By them they were sure to be received as proofs of conscious weakness rather than christian humility, as decent concessions preparatory to absolute submission. It is, however, probable that they were not so much addressed to that intractable faction as to the imperial court, and especially to Charles himself. The dream of the moment was to gain the emperor." History of the Reformation, iii. 64.

odium of persecution, and to induce the Protestants to submit, undertaking to secure the convention of a general council for the settlement of the controversy. With these views, a labored confutation of the confession was prepared by the popish divines who were present at the diet, and attempts were made to effect a union of the parties. These projects failed, as might have been expected: the Protestants would not surrender their consciences to any other authority than that of the word of God, and the Papists were not disposed to abate one jot of the pope's pretensions. At the close of the diet in November, a fierce edict was published; forbidding all changes in doctrine or worship; enjoining the restoration of images, and of the ancient rites and ceremonies; commanding the invocation of saints, and the observance of fasts and feasts; directing the rebuilding of the monasteries which had been destroyed, and the restoration of their revenues; and providing for the execution of these decrees by military force.

Amid the anxieties and alarm of this trying period, Luther preserved his wonted peace and confidence. It was not surprising; for he dwelt "in the secret place of the Most High," and abode "under the shadow of the Almighty." A friend, who was with him at the castle of Coburg, gave the following account of his devotional habits—"Not a day passes but he spends three hours, and

the very hours most suited to study, in prayer. It once happened to me to hear him at prayer. Blessed God, what spirit, what faith there is in his very words! He offers his petitions with all the reverence that is due to God, yet with such hope and faith as if he felt that he was conversing with a father and a friend. 'I know,' he said, 'that thou art our Father and our God; I am, therefore, well assured that thou wilt destroy the persecutors of thy children. But if thou shalt not do this, the peril is thine as well as ours. This whole affair is thine. We engaged in it only by compulsion. Thou, therefore, wilt defend it.' When I heard him from some distance praying with a clear voice almost in these words, my own soul was likewise influenced with a peculiar emotion; with such seriousness, with such reverence did he converse with God. And amidst his prayer he vehemently pressed the promises from the Psalms, as if he were sure that all his petitions would be brought to pass." Melchior Adam. Vit. Germ. Theolog. Vita Lutheri. p. 68.

The Protestants deemed the occasion one on which it was lawful to appeal to arms, if necessary, and repel force by force. Accordingly a meeting was held at Smalcald, and on the 31st of December the league of Smalcald was signed, by which the protestant princes and states were united in one body for mutual defence.

SECTION V.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CAUSE.

For some years after the diet of Augsburg the course of affairs in Germany was undisturbed by any event seriously tending to the injury of the Protestant cause. The pope urged the emperor to adopt violent measures; the emperor pressed the pope to call a council; but the advance of the Turkish army, which was then approaching the confines of Austria, roused his fears, and he felt constrained to agree to a truce with the Protestants, August 5, 1532, which virtually abrogated the decrees of Worms and Augsburg, and left them in possession of their religious privileges. Things continued in the same state till the death of Clement VII. Sept. 26, 1534. His successor, Paul III. professed great zeal for reformation, and appointed a committee of cardinals and prelates to inquire into such abuses as needed correction. Their report unveiled iniquities which the court of Rome would fain have concealed from public gaze and scorn: by some means, however, a copy fell into protestant hands, and it was immediately published in Germany, with suitable annotations. The German edition was enriched by the notes of Luther.* No step was taken in

* Among the abuses and corruptions exposed in this remark-

consequence of this report; the time for reform was not yet come. It was resolved to refer the whole matter to a council which the new pope had summoned to meet at Mantua, in the year 1537. That assembly was not held. The Protestants indignantly rejected it. They objected to the *place;* Italy was not the country in which such a meeting ought to be convened, nor could they adventure themselves there with any hope of safety. They objected to the proposed presidency to be vested in the pope by his legates: for the pope, it was maintained, was an interested, nay more, an accused party, and ought not to be allowed to be judge in his own cause. And, finally, they objected to the principles on which the decisions of the meeting were to be framed. The authority of old canons and of the writings of the fathers was nothing to them: they would

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able document, were—the appointment of grossly ignorant and immoral priests; the bestowment of benefices on foreigners; the non-residence of the higher orders of the clergy, especially the cardinals; the vicious lives of many monks and nuns; simony, "which is now so common in the church," the committee stated, "that it is practised for the most part without shame; that the crime is expiated by money: and benefices, obtained by methods the most unjust and criminal, are retained without scruple;" and certain enormities allowed to exist at Rome, the metropolis of Christendom, which ought to have exhibited a bright pattern of pure morality, but in which city a large number of courtezans lived, who habitually paraded the streets, sumptuously attired and attended by ecclesiastics!"

submit only to the word of God. Other and insurmountable difficulties were also placed in the way. The duke of Mantua having refused to receive a council into his city, the assembly was prorogued, and appointed to meet at Vicenza; but when the papal legates arrived at that city, in May, 1538, they found their mission perfectly fruitless. The war then existing between the emperor and Francis I. prevented the bishops of France and Germany from repairing to the appointed spot; the refusal of submission on the part of the Protestants was well known; in consequence, the pope was compelled to suspend the council altogether.

During all this time Protestantism was quietly making way. The designs of the blood-thirsty were mercifully averted from year to year; thus giving time for the growth of the churches and their confirmation in the faith they had received, as well as for those disciplinary arrangements which were necessary for the maintenance of purity and order.

There were some untoward events, but they scarcely belong to the history of the Reformation. Among these may be mentioned the troubles occasioned by Munster and other fanatics, and the disputes with the Sacramentarians, as the Swiss divines, and those who held their opinions on the Lord's supper, were called. Both operated injuriously: the first, by seemingly identifying the re-

formers with men who had cast off the restraints of morality, and shown their entire unworthiness of social privileges; and the second, by placing Luther and his coadjutors in the unlovely position of virulent opponents to those who would have willingly remained friends and helpers in the good cause. The refusal to unite with the Sacramentarians as a religious body, or to admit them to share in the presumed advantages of the League of Smalcald, was altogether unjustifiable. It must be deeply lamented that Luther suffered himself to be influenced by unreasonable prejudices and unscriptural feelings; and that to his counsel the policy adopted by the German reformers in this matter may be chiefly ascribed. Such disclosures of human weakness and imperfection should keep us from trusting in the wisdom or holiness of any fellow-creature. The wisest may err, and the holiest may fall.

Attempts were frequently made to restore concord, but they were ineffectual; because they were founded on principles which could not be mutually acknowledged. Charles would have crushed the reformers by force, had he not been embarrassed by an exhausting war with France, and by the menacing appearance of the Turks. He was constrained to yield to circumstances, and to confirm repeatedly the truce of Ratisbon.

At a diet held at Spires, in February, 1542, Morone, the papal legate, proposed Trent as a

suitable place for the assembly of the long-expected council. The Romish party immediately acceded to it; but the Protestants reiterated their rejection, for reasons already assigned. Nevertheless, the bill of convocation was published, and the council summoned to meet in the following November. But the same causes which had hindered its assembly before were still in operation. In 1544 Charles and Francis, worn out with protracted warfare, signed the peace of Crespi. On the removal of this obstacle another bill was issued for the convocation of the council, and it was opened December 13, 1545.

The Protestants persevered in their refusal to acknowledge this assembly, or to assist in any way at its deliberations. They had been recently strengthened by the accession of the elector palatine to their cause, and by the advancement of Henry, a confirmed Protestant, to the dukedom of Saxony, vacant by the death of his brother George, who had remained till his death a bigoted adherent of the papacy. Luther was invited to Leipsic on the occasion, and preached so powerfully that the whole city embraced Protestantism, and the dominions of the deceased duke were added to the number of those governed by the advocates of Gospel truth.

These advantages were counterbalanced by a sorrowful event. It was the death of Luther. The principal actors in the stormy scenes of the early

history of the German Reformation were now no more. Tetzel's career ended miserably, in 1519. Cardinal Cajetan died in 1534. The labors of Erasmus were terminated in July, 1536, at Basle, in which city he had spent a large portion of his life, and composed his principal works. Campeggio lived till 1539, and Eck till 1543. Carlstadt, whose hasty zeal had given Luther much trouble, entered into rest in 1544. Spalatin, the reformer's faithful friend, departed this life in January, 1545. Luther's summons came the following year. He exchanged earth for heaven, February 18, 1546.

The counts of Mansfeld, having some dispute about their property, invited Luther to arbitrate between them. He went to Eisleben for that purpose about a month before his death, accompanied by two of his sons and Justus Jonas, and spent the last days of his life in endeavors to accomplish the object of his visit. On Wednesday, February 17, his friends perceived that he required rest, and succeeded in persuading him to cease from labor. He spent the day in his room, frequently engaging in animated conversation, and was often overheard offering fervent prayer. It appears that he had some foreboding of the event which so soon took place. "I was born at Eisleben," he said to Justus Jonas; "what if I should remain and die here?" More than once he observed, "If I succeed in effecting concord between the proprietors of my native country, I shall return home,

and lay me down in my grave, and give my body to the worms." In the evening he had complained of a sense of oppression and pain at the chest, which was relieved by friction with warm linen cloths. At supper he was alternately cheerful and serious, according to his usual manner. It was somewhat remarkable that, during the meal, the conversation turned on the question whether the saints would recognise in heaven those with whom they had held fellowship on earth. Luther gave a decided answer in the affirmative. After supper his pain returned, but he declined medical assistance, and lay down on a couch, where he slept for two or three hours. He then retired to his chamber, saying, as he took leave of those present, "Pray for the cause of God." About an hour after midnight he awoke, suffering violent pain. His friends quickly gathered round him, eager to administer relief, and two physicians were speedily in attendance; but their efforts failed. Luther was fully conscious of his approaching end. Some hope of his recovery being expressed by the bystanders, because he had fallen into a perspiration, he said, "It is a cold sweat, the forerunner of death: I shall yield up my spirit." Then he prayed, in words to the following effect:—"O eternal and merciful God, my heavenly Father, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and God of all consolation! I thank thee that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, whom I

have preached, whom I have confessed, whom I love and worship as my dear Savior and Redeemer, whom the ungodly persecute, dishonor, and blaspheme. Take my soul unto thyself." Thrice he repeated the words, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth:" also, "God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;" and, "Our God is the God of salvation: God is the Lord by whom we escape death." After this he was mostly silent, his strength failing fast. "Beloved father," said Justus Jonas, "you die in the confession of Christ and his doctrine, which you have constantly preached?" He answered distinctly, "I do," and spoke no more. About a quarter of an hour afterwards, at three o'clock in the morning, he fell asleep in the Lord.*

"The righteous is taken away from the evil to come," Isa. 57 : 1. So it proved in the case of Luther. At the time of his death the contending parties were preparing for war. Charles had de-

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* Three sons and a daughter survived him. His widow died six years afterwards. One of his sons, Paul, was an eminent and pious physician.

Luther died comparatively poor. The little property he had was bequeathed to his wife, after the payment of his debts; but it was not sufficient for the support of the family without assistance from the public purse, and that assistance was promptly and liberally afforded.

termined to compel the Protestants to submit to the council of Trent. The course which he adopted was marked by the injustice, perfidy and cruelty which are the natural results of the intolerant principles of Popery. The details of the war belong to secular history. It is only necessary to state that the elector of Saxony was defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Muhlberg, April 24, 1547. He and the landgrave of Hesse were held in captivity for five years. A time of persecution followed that disastrous battle. The emperor's armies overran Germany, inflicting outrage and suffering on the servants of the Lord. In the following year the celebrated "Interim" was published; a scheme of doctrine and discipline framed by order of the emperor, embodying almost every thing that is objectionable in Romanism, only expressed in comparatively mild or ambiguous language. It was to be observed throughout Germany till the conclusion of the Council of Trent. Like most plans of compromise, it pleased no party. Maurice of Saxony, and some few others, who felt that they were strong enough to resist, absolutely refused to receive the Interim. The weaker states, and many of the free cities, were overpowered by force, and compelled to re-admit the mummeries of Popery; but not till much blood had been shed, and horrible devastation committed. This state of things lasted upwards of three years, dur

ing which time the cause of apostolic christianity in Germany suffered lamentable depression. Protestant worship was abolished, and protestant ministers were driven from their homes and exposed to great hardships. So great was the suffering, and so general the persecution, that some have imagined it was the time specified in the Apocalypse, when the two witnesses were to be slain, and their dead bodies to lie unburied for three years and a half. See Rev. 11.

But God "plentifully rewardeth the proud doer." Charles aimed at something more than the restoration of Popery: he purposed to establish a despotism on the ruins of the liberties of Germany, and to be as arbitrary there as he was in Spain. This roused the energies of Maurice of Saxony, who had been hitherto his instrument in effecting the humiliation of the Protestants. He suddenly appeared in arms in defence of the rights of his countrymen, took the emperor completely by surprise, having almost succeeded in making him prisoner, and ultimately compelled him to sign the peace of Passau, August 2, 1552, by which Protestantism was restored to its former state. It was soon found that an adjustment of the differences between the Romanists and their opponents was entirely out of the question. At the Diet of Augsburg, held in 1555, the "peace of religion" was agreed to, by which the rights of conscience were recog-

nised, and freedom of profession and worship was guaranteed to the Protestants of Germany. They were exempted from the jurisdiction of the pope and the bishops of the Romish church, and allowed to enact such regulations as they pleased respecting doctrine, discipline, and rites. All the inhabitants of the German empire were permitted to exercise freely the right of private judgment in religious matters, and to join those communities which they regarded as most conformable in sentiment and mode of worship to the inspired pattern; and it was declared that if any persons injured or persecuted others on account of their religious opinions, they should be proceeded against as public enemies of the empire, invaders of its liberty, and disturbers of its peace. "The difficulties that were to be surmounted before this equitable decision could be procured, the tedious deliberations, the warm debates, the violent animosities and bloody wars that were necessary to engage the greatest part of the German states to consent to conditions so agreeable to the dictates of right reason, as well as to the sacred injunctions of the Gospel, show the ignorance and superstition of these miserable times, and stand upon record as one of the most evident proofs of the necessity of the Reformation." Mosheim, cent. xvi. sect. i. chap. 4. § 8.

Thus in less than forty years a very important

portion of the European continent was wrested from the domination of Rome.* The conflict is one of the most memorable that are recorded in the annals of the church; but the full developement of the results is yet to come.†

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* "Throughout the whole of Germany, from east to west and from north to south, Protestantism decidedly predominated. The nobles were inclined to it from the very first; the official functionaries—even then a numerous and influential body—were educated in the new belief; the common people would hear no more of certain articles of faith—for example, the doctrine of purgatory; or of certain ceremonies, such as pilgrimages; not a convent could continue to support itself, nor did any one venture to exhibit the relics of saints to the multitude. A Venetian ambassador, in the year 1558, reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion." Ranke's History of the Popes of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, ii. 12.

† Some brief notices of Luther's fellow-laborers are here subjoined.

1. The first place belongs unquestionably to *Melancthon*. Next to Luther, he was the most highly gifted and the most useful member of the protestant band. His extensive learning, clear judgment, consummate prudence, and unblemished character, procured for him universal respect and esteem. During Luther's life he was consulted on all occasions, and the greatest deference was paid to his advice. After the death of the great reformer he was by general consent considered the ecclesiastical chief of the Protestants. In his office of professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg he contributed more than any man then living to the diffusion of sound principles. Thousands of students received scriptural instruction from his lips, very many of whom afterwards filled important stations, and exercised a beneficial influence on society at large. His numerous and valuable writings

have raised an imperishable monument to his fame. By the protestant princes of Germany, and especially by the electors of Saxony, his counsels were highly valued; his advice was invariably sought, whenever ecclesiastical enactments were under consideration; and his suggestions were seldom disregarded.

The brightest characters have their spots. If Luther was some times inconsiderately bold, or even rash, and too much inclined to maintain his views with unyielding pertinacity, (all which cannot be denied,) Melancthon was constitutionally timid, and liberal to excess. He was willing to place among things indifferent many articles which Luther and others held to be essential to purity of doctrine or worship; and it was his opinion that in things thus deemed indifferent the laws of secular governments might be obeyed. Herein he differed from a large number of his brethren. A sharp controversy arose on this subject, which embittered the minds of many, and alienated from one another those whose energies should have been united in advocating the great cause.

Melchior Adam thus describes the last scenes of Melancthon's life:—"He frequently in his latter years, and particularly in the last months of his life, bewailed with many tears the discords of the reformed churches, and implored in ardent prayers that God would heal these divisions. When his friend and physician Winsheim visited him, and expressed his fears that with his feeble and reduced frame he would ill sustain the attacks of his disease, he replied, with a smile, 'I desire to depart, and to be with Christ.' To Bucer, his son-in-law, he said the day before his death, 'My illness does not disturb me; I have no anxiety or matter of care but one—that the churches may be at peace in Christ Jesus.' He frequently before his death repeated the Savior's prayer, 'That they may be one in us;' and those words of St. Paul, 'Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.' A little time before he expired, Eber, chief pastor of Wittemberg, reciting to him the words, 'As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God,' he raised his hands

and eyes and said, 'That sentence is ever in my thoughts.' His son-in-law having asked if he wished for any thing, he said, 'Nothing but heaven;' and begged that he might not be interrupted. At the close, as long as he could articulate, he repeated the words, 'O God, compassionate me through thy Son Jesus Christ!' And again, 'In thee, O Lord, have I trusted; let me never be confounded!' His faculties were clear to the last, and his decease literally resembled a falling asleep."

Melancthon died April 19, 1560, aged sixty-three.

2. *Frederic Myconius.* He was originally a monk, having entered the monastery of Annaberg at the early age of sixteen. In the year 1516 he became a priest, and settled at Weimar. Luther's writings led him to the truth. The last twenty-two years of his life were spent at Saxe-Gotha, of which place he was pastor and superintendent. Luther often availed himself of his advice and help, and esteemed him highly. He died April 7, 1547, aged fify-five.

3. *Caspar Cruciger* was a native of Leipsic. He studied at Wittemberg, and in 1527 became preacher in one of the churches of that city, and a lecturer in the university. When the Reformation was established at Leipsic the senate would have secured his services there, but Luther refused to part with him, esteeming him as one of his most valuable advisers and assistants. He rendered important aid to the reformer in the translation of the Scriptures, being eminently skilled in Hebrew. His last illness continued three months, during which time he employed himself in various studies, and among other things completed a translation of Luther's commentary on the last words of David. Worn out with labor and anxious care for the churches, he died November 16, 1548, being only forty-five years old.

4. *Justus Jonas* was one of Luther's intimate friends. He was many years rector of the university of Wittemberg, having been appointed to that office by the elector of Saxony in 1521. He accompanied Luther to the Diet of Worms, and took part with him in all the leading transactions of the Reformation. He was an eloquent and powerful preacher. In 1541 he removed to

Halle. Subsequently he became rector of Eisfeldt, and superintendent of the churches in the duchy of Coburg. Many of Luther's works were translated by him from German into Latin. He attended Luther to Eisleben, and was present at his death. His own life was prolonged till the year 1555, when he rested from his labors at the age of sixty-three.

5. *Bugenhagius.* He was a schoolmaster at Treptore, in Pomerania. When Luther's treaties on the Babylonish captivity was published in 1521, he said, after he had read a few pages, "The author of this book is the most pestilent heretic that ever infested the church of Christ." After reading the book throughout he changed his opinion: "The whole world is blind," said he, "and this man alone sees the truth." In the following year he went to Wittemberg, and was chosen pastor of the great church. He continued in that post till the end of his life. His assistance was frequently called for in establishing the Reformation in other parts of Saxony. Luther greatly prized his friendship, and admitted him to the most unreserved Christian intercourse. He was a remarkably pious man, abounding in prayer, and diligently serving the Lord in all his ordinances. His end was peace. He exchanged worlds, April 20, 1558, in the seventy-third year of his age.

The above-mentioned, with some others, whose names have been already before the reader, were united to Luther in affection as well as in labor, and were directly engaged with him in his most arduous enterprises.

CHAPTER IV.

History of the Reformation in Switzerland.

SECTION I.

THE LABORS OF ZUINGLE.

About the middle of the ninth century a German monk, who sought complete retirement from the world, withdrew to a sequestered spot between the lakes of Zurich and Walstetten, and built a cell, where he lived some time in seclusion. His retreat was discovered by robbers, who murdered him. More than a hundred years after a convent was built there, with a church, which was to be dedicated to the virgin. On the eve of the day appointed for the consecration, when the bishop of Constance and his clergy were at prayers in the church, voices were suddenly heard singing the praises of God. Next morning, when the bishop was about to begin the ceremony, some invisible being accosted him. "Stop! stop, brother!" the voice exclaimed; "God himself has consecrated the place!" He was given to understand that the singing they had heard the night before had proceeded from a quire of angels, apostles and saints; that Christ in person had blessed the building; and that the virgin had assisted, standing on the altar, bright as the light-

ning. Such was the lying legend. Pope Leo VIII. issued a bull forbidding the faithful to doubt its truth. The convent of Einsidlen quickly attracted attention. A spot so holy was sure to become the scene of pilgrim resort. Crowds of persons from all parts thronged the road to the shrine of "Our Lady of the Hermits." Miracles were said to be wrought there. An inscription over the gate announced to the eager visiter that within those favored walls he might obtain "full remission of sins."

In the year 1516 Ulric Zuingle became priest and preacher in the convent. This celebrated man was born in the year 1484, at Wildhaus, in Switzerland. Perceiving in him the indication of superior talents, his father placed him under the care of his uncle, a dignitary in the church, who sent him to school, first at Wisen, and subsequently at Basle. Thence he removed to Berne, where he was initiated into classical literature by Lupulus, the reviver of learning in Switzerland. His studies were continued at Vienne, and again, in 1502, at the university of Basle, in which city he remained four years, and obtained a high reputation. There, too, he began to inquire into evangelical truth. He had studied scholastic theology, but became utterly disgusted with its follies and vain pursuits. Thomas Wittembach, a learned and good man, who settled at Basle towards the close of the year 1505, gave the first impulse to

Zuingle's scriptural researches. His discourses produced a powerful effect on many minds. "The time is not far distant," he was accustomed to say, "when the scholastic theology shall be abolished, and the ancient doctrine of the church restored. . . . . The death of Christ is the only ransom for our souls."

In 1506 Zuingle became pastor of Glarus, a parish situated in the vicinity of Wildhaus. He remained there ten years, diligently discharging the duties of his office and adding to his stores of knowledge. The best Latin and Greek authors, including, besides the classics, the works of Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and other fathers, were carefully read. But his chief attention was devoted to the Scriptures, especially the New Testament, which he perused again and again in the original Greek, comparing one part with another, and earnestly entreating the assistance of the Holy Spirit that he might understand the truth. Light gradually broke in upon his mind. His preaching assumed a more scriptural character, and thus became more useful.

Twice, during his residence at Glarus, Zuingle visited Italy, being compelled to attend the Swiss army in the pay of the pope, as chaplain to the company drawn from his own parish. These visits were instructive. He saw the pride, avarice, and general corruption of the Romish church, and was taught to sigh for reform.

Attracted by the reputation which Zuingle had obtained as a preacher, the baron Geroldsek, administrator of Einsidlen, invited him to that place. He accepted the charge. There he dwelt in the very focus of superstition. But he did not conceal the truth. To the crowds who flocked to the convent in the hope of obtaining remission of their sins, he proclaimed the Gospel of Christ, and solemnly warned them against vain confidence. Such ministrations could not fail to be successful. The revenues of the convent were indeed lessened; fewer offerings were made to the virgin; but souls were saved. Pilgrims returned to their houses, exclaiming with astonishment and delight, "Jesus Christ alone saves, and he saves *every where*." The fame of the preacher spread abroad, and the influence of the doctrines he preached began to be felt in many parts of Switzerland.

Two papal legates, Ernius and Pucci, who were engaged in Switzerland on the pope's affairs, staid some time at Einsidlen, and labored hard to dissuade Zuingle from joining the reform movement. Wealth and honor were offered him. He had for several years received a small pension from the papal treasury, which he had expended in the purchase of books. But he was not to be bought. He intimated his intention to resign the pension. "By God's help," said he, "I will continue to preach the Gospel, and the preaching will cause Rome to shake to the very foundations."

Samson, a Carmelite monk, entered Switzerland in 1518 to sell indulgences. He had traversed the canton of Uri, and had commenced operations in Schwitz, when he encountered the opposition of Zuingle. "Jesus Christ the Son of God," exclaimed the preacher, "has said, 'Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' Is it not then audacious folly and mad presumption to say, on the contrary, 'Buy letters of indulgence; run to Rome; give to the monks; sacrifice to the priests? If you do these things I will absolve you from your sins.' . . . Jesus Christ is the only offering; Jesus Christ is the only sacrifice; Jesus Christ is the only way." The impious traffic fell before the force of truth, and the disappointed merchant was compelled to change his route.

In December, 1518, Zuingle was chosen to the important office of preacher in the cathedral of Zurich. He left his beloved retreat to enter on this new sphere of effort, in the conviction that he was divinely called to it. His first discourse was delivered on New Year's day, 1519. He began his labors by an exposition of the Gospel by Matthew, and soon had the pleasure to see a large congregation gathered together to hear the word of God. It was a new thing in Zurich. The effects were the same as in apostolic times. "Some believed the things that were spoken and some believed not." Many "spake evil of that way before the

multitude;" some would have resorted to violent measures; nevertheless, the number of believers continued to increase.

Zuingle had not been long at Zurich when Samson made his appearance in the neighborhood. After his repulse at Schwitz, he had carried on his trade in the cantons of Zug, Lucerne, Underwalden, and Berne. Refused admittance into Bremgarten by the dean of the place, father of the celebrated Henry Bullinger, Zuingle's successor at Zurich, he was approaching the latter city, full of indignation, and resolved to take vengeance on his opponents. Zuingle was not in the least dismayed. He boldly preached against the abomination, and completely succeeded. The authorities of Zurich refused to allow the indulgence-monger to traffic in their city, and the pope shortly afterwards recalled him.

When the plague ravaged Switzerland in 1519, Zuingle caught the infection. His death seemed inevitable. But God had mercy on him, and restored him to the weeping church. The affliction was greatly blessed to his soul. Thenceforth his preaching was still more decidedly evangelical, and was characterized by remarkable animation and fervor. Always distinguished for clearness of conception, there was now superadded a warmth of feeling which resulted from the near view of death and eternity, and the rich enjoyment of the consolations of the Gospel under these

affecting circumstances. Delightful effects followed. More than two thousand persons received the truth, among whom were some of the wealthy inhabitants of the city and several magistrates.

The priests, especially those connected with the monastic orders, enraged at the success of the new preacher, openly contradicted and opposed him so violently that the council of state interfered. They issued an order prohibiting the promulgation of any opinions not derived from the word of God.

In the spring of 1522 Zuingle attacked the fasts of the Romish church. Personally he continued to observe the rites and ceremonies of the church, thinking it proper and even necessary to do so till the people should be sufficiently enlightened; an object which he was earnestly desirous to accomplish. In fulfilment of this purpose, he began to inveigh boldly against the superstitious abstinence from meats, as inconsistent with gospel truth and liberty. This brought upon him a storm of indignation. Information was communicated to the bishop of Constance, who immediately seized the opportunity and sent a deputation, at the head of which was Melchior Battli, his coadjutor, to investigate the charges brought against Zuingle. Battli was a proud and bigoted opponent of the Gospel. "The ceremonies alone," he said, "are sufficient to bring men to the knowledge of salvation. All that the priests have to do, is to ex-

plain to the people their signification." He would have put down the reformer without allowing him to be heard. But Zuingle was equal to the encounter. In a short but powerful address he unmasked the folly and baseness of his foes. Addressing the council, he observed: "In every nation, whosoever believes with the heart on the Lord Jesus is saved. Out of that church no person can have life. Our duty, as ministers of Christ, is to explain the Gospel and obey it. Let those who live by ceremonies undertake to explain them!" The episcopal deputies were confounded; no further proceedings were taken: but Zuingle pursued his advantage, and published a work on the free use of meats, in which he explained the christian doctrine on the subject. And he continued to preach, in no wise daunted by his enemies, though repeated attempts were made to take away his life.

The bishop of Constance appealed to the Swiss diet, and obtained a decree, that no priest should be allowed to preach whose instructions occasioned discord among the people. Encouraged by this, the hostile party in the great council of Zurich at length procured an ordinance prohibiting all persons to preach against the monks. An interview between the principal civil authorities and the ecclesiastics on both sides followed. The burgomaster entreated both parties not to preach such doctrines as might tend to disturb the peace

of the community. Zuingle would not yield. "I cannot accept these terms," he said. "I will preach the Gospel freely, and without any condition, conformably to your first decree. I am bishop and pastor of Zurich; the cure of souls is committed to me. If the monks preach lies, I will contradict them, even in the pulpit of their own convent. If, on the other hand, I preach any doctrine contrary to the Gospel, let me be censured, not only by the chapter, but by any citizen whatsoever who may choose to perform that duty; nay more, let me be punished by the council." His boldness prevailed. The former decree was confirmed, and the preachers were enjoined to discontinue their appeals to the authority of Thomas, Duns Scotus, and other scholastic divines, and to confine themselves to the New Testament.

While Zuingle was thus laboring at Zurich, the truth was introduced into other parts of Switzerland with various success. Oswald Myconius was engaged in tuition at Lucerne, and forwarded the good cause by quietly circulating the works of Luther, though at great personal hazard. Berthold Haller published the Gospel at Berne, and Wassemburger at Basle.* In Appenzell, the Gri-

* The credit of Popery was fast declining at Berne. "A mystery," or drama, entitled "The Devourers of the Dead," and composed for the purpose of holding up to ridicule the doctrines of purgatory and prayers for the departed, and exposing to public scorn the avarice, pride and pomp of the clergy, was repre-

sons, and other districts, the public mind became increasingly disaffected towards popish doctrines and observances. The time was come when some more decided step should be taken. Zuingle and ten others met at Einsidlen, where Leo Juda, following the example of his friend, preached the Gospel in its simplicity. The meeting was held in July, 1522. After prayerful consideration of the existing state of affairs, it was resolved to address the bishop of Constance, their ecclesiastical superior, and the Swiss diet, boldly avowing the truth, and requesting full liberty to publish it, and to restore primitive purity; it was determined also to ask for the abolition of the forced celibacy of the priesthood. There were powerful reasons for

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sented in one of the streets of the city, amidst universal applause. Another event, which occurred about the same time, tended to open the eyes of the people to the trickery to which they had been subjected. Albert of Stein, a celebrated knight, had procured at Lyons a precious relic, the scull of St. Anne, mother of the virgin Mary. On the day of the knight's entry into the city the greatest excitement prevailed. He was met by the clergy, the council, and an immense crowd of citizens; a splendid procession was formed, the bells rang merrily, the people shouted for joy, and the scull was conveyed to the church of the Dominicans, where it was reverentially placed on an altar prepared for it, before which many a knee bowed in silent adoration. But the joy was soon turned into mortification and shame. A letter arrived from the abbot of the convent of Lyons, stating that the monks had cheated the knight, and sold him a common scull taken from the churchyard. The true scull of St. Anne remained at Lyons still!

the latter demand. The crimes and disorders to which celibacy had given rise in Switzerland had long exposed ecclesiastics to general contempt and hatred. Zuingle had already emancipated himself, having married Anna, widow of Meyer of Knonau, an excellent female, with whom he lived in great happiness. Xylotect, canon of Zurich, and several others, had taken a similar step.

The documents above mentioned were widely circulated in Switzerland. The friends of corruption were highly indignant, and began to resort to the measures usually adopted by advocates of a bad cause. The bishop invoked vengeance on the innovators. The diet, at a meeting held at Baden, ordered that all priests and others who sided with the reformers should be denounced to the authorities. Urban Weiss, pastor of Fislispach, suffered a long imprisonment in the bishop's prison at Constance. John Hollard, canon of Friburg, was banished. Myconius was deprived of his situation at Lucerne, and driven from the canton. Other victims were marked out, and great fears were entertained for the safety of Zuingle.*

At a public assembly, held January 29, 1523, at which Faber, vicar-general of the diocese of Constance, and other deputies from the bishop, assisted, and which was convened for the purpose

* Leo Judah settled at Zurich at the end of this year, and Myconius succeeded him at Einsidlen.

of taking into consideration the tenets advocated by the reformers, Zuingle presented himself, prepared to maintain and defend the evangelical doctrine. "I have preached salvation by Christ only," he said; "and on that account have been stigmatised throughout Switzerland as a heretic, a deceiver, and a rebel. Now then, in the name of God, here I am." Faber cautiously avoided discussion: he was sent to hear, not to dispute; nothing could induce him to break silence. A resolution was passed, empowering Zuingle and his associates to preach the Gospel as before. "Praised be God!" he exclaimed, "his word will have dominion in heaven and on earth." At this Faber could not repress his indignation. "The theses of master Ulric," said he, (referring to sixty-seven propositions which Zuingle had published in anticipation of the meeting,) "are opposed to the honor of the church and the doctrine of Christ, and I will prove it." "Do," said Zuingle. The vicar-general proposed to refer the matters in dispute to the decision of a university. "I will have no other judge than the Gospel," said Zuingle. "The Gospel!" replied Faber; "always the Gospel! A man might live in righteousness, peace, and charity, though there were no Gospel!"

A similar meeting, held in the month of October in the same year, was very numerously attended by ecclesiastics from different parts of Switzerland. The worship of images and the

mass were the subjects discussed. Among those who undertook to defend Popery, not one ventured to appeal to the Scriptures. They felt that the word of God was against them. The cause of truth received additional impulse. Many priests returned to their parishes enlightened and convinced, and commenced laboring on behalf of the Gospel. Myconius settled this year at Zurich.

The other cantons, Schaffhausen excepted, adhered to the old system. An effort was made to reclaim Zurich. At a meeting of the diet, held at Lucerne, a deputation was appointed to visit that city, in order to induce the authorities to retrace their steps and banish Zuingle and his colleagues. But it was too late. Truth had now obtained a firm hold on the minds and consciences of a large proportion of the inhabitants, including the chief men of the place. Instead of complying with the request, they proceeded to bolder measures. Certain superstitious processions were abolished. Relics which had been adored for many ages were buried. And an order was issued for the immediate removal of all images from the churches, and the appropriation of the proceeds of their ornaments to the relief of the poor. It gave universal satisfaction, and was promptly obeyed.

Persecution had already begun. Claude Hottinger, whose too hasty zeal against idolatry led him to assist at the removal of a crucifix without first obtaining permission from the magistrates,

had been banished from Zurich for the offence. He was apprehended in another canton, condemned for heresy by the diet of Lucerne, and beheaded. This was in February, 1523. In the autumn of the next year, at a meeting of the diet at Zug, where it was resolved to put down reform by force, a worthy minister, named Oexlin, was illegally seized and carried to prison. In an attempt made to rescue him a tumultuous rising took place, and the convent of Ittingen was unfortunately plundered and burned. Vengeance was loudly demanded. Four persons,* who had distinguished themselves in the unsuccessful endeavor to rescue Oexlin, but who had used their utmost influence to prevent the outrage on the convent, were imprisoned for the latter offence by the authorities of Zurich, to which canton they belonged. The other cantons required them to be delivered up, and threatened war in case of refusal. In a moment of fear the request was granted. The prisoners were sent away. Their fate was already decided. One only, John Wirth, was spared. The other three, after suffering inhuman tortures, were beheaded; not for the destruction of the convent, in which it was evident that they took no part, but for their adherence to the Gospel. They died rejoicingly.

* Wirth, vice-bailiff of Stamenheim; his two sons, Adrian and John, both priests; and Rutiman, bailiff of Hussbaum.

The rejection of the mass soon followed that of the images. It had been abolished at Mulhausen in 1524. In April, 1525, the senate of Zurich issued a decree, in compliance with the request of their ministers, for the restoration of the Lord's supper according to primitive observance. Three days—Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter Sunday—were devoted to the first celebration. It was a solemn and delightful service. The altars were replaced by tables. The bread was handed round in wooden dishes, and the wine was poured into goblets of the same material. The deacons read the passages of Scripture which relate to the sacred ordinance, while the pastors addressed the listening multitudes. Universal joy prevailed. The spirit of love descended on the people. Long-standing enmities were renounced. Foes were changed into friends. The supper of the Lord became a bond of union. Primitive times seemed to be restored.

In the same year those portions of the Scriptures which Luther had translated into German were adapted to the Swiss dialect, and printed at Zurich. The remaining parts of the word of God were translated by the Swiss reformers, and published about four years afterwards.

Zurich was the source of the reformation in Switzerland.* Its progress in the other cantons

* Conrad Pellican, a learned divine, formerly a Franciscan at

was slower and more interrupted. Ecolampadius had been preaching at Basle since November, 1522. Berthold Haller and Sebastian Meyer were settled at Berne. Truth was gradually making way in many parts; but as yet the arm of power suppressed its movements. A general meeting of the Helvetic body was held at Baden, in May, 1526, expressly for the purpose of putting down the new doctrines. A disputation took place, in which Ecolampadius and Haller were chiefly engaged on the one side, against Eck, Faber, and some celebrated Romish controversialists on the other. But it was before a packed and partial jury. The representatives of the cantons had met avowedly to devise measures for the ruin of the Reformation. It was to be expected that they would ascribe the triumph to their own champions.* They passed a decree, proscribing Zuingle and his associates, and declaring their fixed resolve to maintain unimpaired the ancient faith.

Basle, became professor of Hebrew at Zurich, in 1526, and greatly aided the cause of truth.

* The disputation continued eighteen days. Eck and his companions were hospitably entertained by the vicar, and drank abundance of wine, furnished by a neighboring abbot. The reformers lodged at an inn. The landlord, who was curious to know how Ecolampadius passed his time when he was in his chamber, often looked into the room, but always found the good man reading and praying. "It must be confessed," said he, "that this is a very pious heretic"

The Lord "maketh the devices of the people of none effect," but *his* counsel "standeth for ever." Psalm 33 : 10, 11. While the adversaries of Gospel truth vainly thought to check its advancement the hand of God was evidently stretched out in its defence. Instead of being discouraged by the unfavorable result of the meeting at Baden, the reformers quietly pursued their course and gained ground daily. Ecolampadius succeeded, in 1526, in establishing at Basle the practice of singing hymns in the vulgar tongue, in public worship. It was found greatly conducive to piety, and admirably adapted to confirm the people in the truths taught by the reformers. In 1528 images were removed from the principal churches, though allowed to be retained for a time in the others. That indulgence was not long continued. In February, 1529, the city was thoroughly cleansed from idolatry, and at the same time the mass was abolished.*

Meanwhile the cause advanced in several of the smaller cantons. Changes were gradually introduced in many places, as far as the times would

* So many were the insults heaped upon the images and crucifixes, as to make it strange, according to the sarcastic observation of Erasmus, that those holy saints, who had been wont to display such prodigies of power on very slight offences, should have refrained, in this most important emergency, from the exertion of their miraculous energies. Waddington's History of the Reformation, ii. 321.

bear, and the number of evangelical preachers was constantly on the increase. In some instances the forms of popery continued to be observed, out of deference to the secular authorities, long after Gospel truth had been received: in other cases a fierce struggle was maintained; but on the whole the onward movement gained ground daily.*

For a short time the papal party became pre-

* Wolfgang Jouer, abbot of the monastery of Cappel, was the friend of Zuingle, and a supporter of the Reformation. In 1523 he appointed Bullinger lecturer in theology in the monastery, and permitted him to preach frequently in the abbey church. Three years after the mass was superseded by the Lord's supper. The year following the monastery was surrendered to the government of Zurich, and converted into a college: the revenues were appropriated to the three objects of supporting scholars, relieving the poor, and improving the salaries of the ministers of the Gospel; and the church was made a parochial one, three neighboring villages being attached to it. Scott's Continuation of Milner, ii. 569.

"The conversion of John Frick, parish priest of Mayenfeld, in the Grisons, was brought about in a singular manner. Being a zealous Catholic, and of great note among his brethren, he had warmly resisted the new opinions when they first made their appearance. Filled with chagrin and alarm at the progress which he saw them making in his immediate neighborhood, he repaired to Rome, to implore the assistance of his holiness, and to consult on the best method of preventing his native country from being overrun with heresy. But he was so struck with the irreligion which he observed in the court of Rome, and the ignorance and vice prevailing in Italy, that, returning home, he joined the party which he had opposed, and became the reformer of Mayenfeld. In his old age he used to say to his friends that he learned the Gospel at Rome." M'Crie's History of the Reformation in Italy p. 315

dominant at Berne. It was enacted that no change should be made in religion, and that the old forms should be rigidly observed; the decree was confirmed by the solemn sanction of an oath. But the truth had taken such firm hold on the hearts of men, that it was impossible to dislodge it. The government was soon compelled to yield to the wishes of an enlightened people, and determined to refer the whole question in debate to a public disputation, open to champions on both sides from every part of Switzerland, and to abide by the issue. This is known in history as "the great disputation of Berne." On the appointed day, January 7, 1528, Zuingle and Ecolampadius appeared, at the head of more than three hundred and fifty evangelical teachers. The bishops of Constance, Basle, Leon, and Lausanne had been summoned, but did not deign to attend: in fact, the papal cause was very feebly supported. Ten articles had been prepared for discussion. The articles were, in substance: That the church had no head but Christ; that it sprang from the word of God, and subsisted in that alone; that traditions were only binding when they agreed with God's word; that Christ was a sufficient expiation for the sins of the whole world; that there was no scriptural proof of the real and corporeal manducation (eating) of the body and blood of Christ; that the sacrifice of the mass was opposed to Scripture, and insulting to the Redeemer's sacrifice; that there

was no other intercessor between God and man except Christ; that the existence of a purgatory could not be proved from Holy Writ; that the worship of statues and images was contrary to Scripture; that marriage was forbidden to no class of men, and that since fornication was expressly denounced in Scripture, it was a vice least of all becoming the sacerdotal order. These articles were debated for eighteen days. The result was victory to reform. Popery was immediately abolished in the canton of Berne. The Episcopal authority was disowned; altars and images thrown down; the mass suppressed; fast-days, feast-days, clerical costumes, organs, bells, and a long list of usages and ceremonies peculiar to the dark ages, involved in the same destruction; and monasteries converted into schools. The example of Berne was followed by Schaffhausen,* St. Gall, Glarus, Brienne, Bremgarten, Thurgau, the Tockenburg, and the city of Constance. The disputation of Berne deserved to be called "great," for its results were truly glorious.

"The Swiss Reformation," Dr. Waddington observes, "began like that in Saxony, by an attack on indulgences—that among all the abuses of the

* At this place an image of immense size, called "the great Lord God of Schaffhausen," together with many others less distinguished, was consigned to the flames amidst great popular exultation.

church which was most obnoxious, as affecting the greatest multitudes of people, and aiming with the least disguise at the most sordid object. The circumstances of the attack were indeed somewhat different; but the very fact that the bishop in Switzerland abetted the reformer, from whatsoever motive, was still a proof the more, that that favorite outwork of the papal citadel was no longer defensible. It fell almost without a struggle; that which in Germany was a fierce and noisy conflict, was a mere skirmish and prolusion among the Swiss.

"But having once effected an entrance, the soldiers of the Gospel proceeded to the assault upon other and somewhat more tenable positions. First they turned their wrath against the mass of unscriptural and vexatious observances which most sensibly harassed them, especially the restriction on meats; matters in which their daily comforts were concerned, which pressed most inquisitorially upon all, and most of all upon the multitude, who were too poor to purchase dispensations.

"The monastic system stood next in order, and some of Zuingle's earliest efforts were directed against it. . . . . The revenues were not, as in some other countries, confiscated for the immediate profit of the government or of undeserving individuals; but faithfully applied, after just regard to vested interests, to the maintenance of the ministers of religion, to the establishment of

schools for the poor, and other pious and charitable purposes.

"The images were next assailed. . . . . Some caution, some little respect for misguided consciences, not the less earnest and zealous for being misguided, was required for a time, but for a short time only. Perfect freedom of discussion being permitted, the impostures which had been so long practised in honor of those figures were exposed, the miracles to which they pretended were exploded, and the indignation of the dupes themselves was presently raised against them: so that they fell with universal approbation.

"Lastly fell the mass. This was an object likewise endeared to the people by ancestral usage, and the notion of peculiar holiness and supernatural protection attested by miracles. The question besides was in its nature more speculative than the others, and therefore the reasons for its abolition were less intelligible to the vulgar. However, the previous successes prepared the way for this; and in every instance in which the other objects had been achieved, the mass followed in its own season, and by its overthrow consummated the triumph of the reformation." Hist. Ref. ii. 338.

Five cantons—Lucerne, Zug, Schweitz, Uri, and Unterwalden still retained their allegiance to Rome. They had entered into an alliance with Ferdinand of Austria for the defence of Roman-

ism. This was contrary to the principles on which the Helvetic confederation was founded, and was justly regarded as a hostile movement. Zurich took the alarm, and declared war; and Berne, as the ally of Zurich, sent into the field 10,000 men. The armies were ready for battle, when mediation was successfully interposed, which issued in a treaty of peace signed at Arau, June 26, 1529. The alliance with Ferdinand was renounced; all parties were allowed the free exercise of religion; but no further changes were to take place unless they were demanded by a clear majority of the inhabitants of the district or town concerned.

Yet friendship was not restored. Irritation and discontent alarmingly prevailed, and each party was prepared to take advantage of any occurrence that might be favorable to its separate interests. The people of Zurich were too much inclined to war. Trifling differences were unduly magnified; the proffered mediation of other cantons was refused; mutual exasperation followed. At length a measure was adopted which ought never to have been resorted to but in the last extremity—all commercial intercourse with the five popish cantons was interdicted. This severity—for such it was, those cantons being mainly dependent on their neighbors even for the necessaries of life—could only provoke retaliation, and lead to open hostilities. The result was most disastrous to Zurich. As that canton had been so forward

in the matter, the Romish confederates declared war against Zurich, and Zurich only, and immediately invaded its territories. A battle ensued at Cappel, in which the Papists were completely victorious. The men of Zurich were found wholly incompetent. Both skill and courage failed them. The conflict was short, and the number slain not large; but among them was Zuingle. He had accompanied the army to the field, as chief pastor, in compliance with immemorial custom, and exerted himself most zealously, though without effect, to inspire the troops with courage. Left wounded on the field of battle, where he lay among the heaps of slain, some soldiers asked if he would have a confessor. He was speechless, but his hand and eyes were continually raised to heaven, showing that he was engaged in prayer. To the interrogation of the soldiers he could only reply by shaking his head in sign of refusal. "If you cannot speak," said they, "so as to confess, invoke at least the mother of God and the other saints for their intercession." Still he refused. "He is an obstinate heretic," they exclaimed; and immediately an officer who came by at the time thrust a pike into his throat and killed him. It was not till the next day that they ascertained who he was. Then their cruel hatred vented itself in the infliction of numberless indignities on his corpse, which was burned at Lucerne by the hands of the public executioner.

Such was the melancholy end of Ulric Zuingle. "He died, Oct. 11, 1531, aged forty-seven years, in the vigor of life, in the maturity of his understanding, and the fulness of his learning; and, by a violent death, the hopes of many years of informed and industrious piety were extinguished. And when we regard the many ingenious and elaborate compositions, polemical, exegetical, hermeneutical, which he produced in scarcely twelve years—years, too, distracted by a thousand other cares and expectations, and which will remain an everlasting memorial of an extensive erudition; a sound judgment; a temper, upon the whole, candid and charitable; a calm, considerate, earnest faith; it is a matter for serious sorrow, even now, that he was cut off thus unseasonably.

"Together with several just and profound views of scriptural interpretation, his works contain many noble sentiments, flowing from an enlarged and elevated spirit. Gifted with much penetration, incited by an honest zeal, regulated by consummate prudence, firm, considerate, and forbearing, he did not stain these great qualities by a single bad fault. . . . . He pursued with constancy and fearlessness the dictates of his religion and his patriotism: he showed great sagacity in accomplishing his purposes; he was never guided, either in his acts or in his writings, by any factious spirit; he was never suspected of any unworthy motive; he preserved to the very end the digni-

fied consistency of his character, and left to his immediate successors, and to all posterity, the model of an unblemished reputation." Wadd iii. 242–244.

Having sustained another reverse at Zug, the reformed cantons were compelled to have recourse to treaty, and succeeded in obtaining more favorable terms than might perhaps have been expected. The popish and protestant cantons were respectively left in full and undisturbed possession of religious rights, abjuring all interference with each other; in districts common to both parties the reformed were not to be molested; and if, in such places, they were numerous enough to form separate congregations, the incomes of the livings were to be divided between the popish and protestant pastors, in proportion to the numbers of their several flocks.*

SECTION II.

SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

A reaction in favor of popery followed the calamitous war in which the men of Zurich had so

* The following observations on wars for religion deserve an attentive perusal:—"If we may judge from the case both of Germany and Switzerland, little encouragement is afforded to maintaining the cause of religion by an appeal to arms. Never was a military enterprise more misconducted, or with worse success, than

unadvisedly engaged. The enemies of the Reformation were frantic with joy. Altars were erected and offerings made to the saints—by whose intercession these successes were supposed to have been obtained—and the victories were celebrated by pompous processions and other manifestations of exulting gladness, not only in Switzerland, but even in distant countries, and at Rome itself. The permanent loss sustained by the cause of the Reformation was not however so great as had been feared. Rapperschwyl, Mellingen, Bremgarten, and a few other places of small importance, were restored to Romish dominion. Some faint efforts were made at Zurich and Berne to re-establish the old order of things, but they were quickly suppressed. Yet it cannot be denied that a check was put to the further spread of reform. German Switzerland has continued to be popish to the present day.

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the wars both of Cappel and of Smalcald. Little is in general to be expected from a religious body undertaking to fight for their religion. Conscientious men, in such cases, form but an unequal match for men of the world; who will proceed with less scruple, and very probably acquit themselves with more address, and therefore with a better prospect of success: and especially this is not the means, unless in some cases of absolute and unavoidable necessity, (such as the Vaudois might at times be exposed to, to preserve themselves from absolute extirpation,) on which the blessing of heaven is to be expected. 'The weapons of our warfare are not carnal;' and 'the children of this world are, *in their generation*, wiser than the children of light.'" Scott's Continuation of Milner, iii. 119.

Ecolampadius, whose health had been some time in a declining state, was so much affected by the death of Zuingle that he rapidly sunk, and in a few weeks was laid in the grave; Nov. 23, 1531, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Myconius succeeded him at Basle. Zuingle had filled the two offices of chief pastor and professor of divinity. Bullinger took his place as pastor at Zurich, and held it with distinguished reputation for forty-four years. Bibliander became professor of divinity, in which office he rendered eminent services to the church of God from that time till his death, thirty-two years afterwards.

The principles of the Reformation were silently at work at Geneva for some time before any public demonstration was expedient or safe. Three of its ministers were present at the great disputation of Berne, and returned home very favorably impressed towards the Gospel. The knowledge of the truth was gradually spread among the citizens. In the year 1532 a considerable number had embraced protestant views. Farel visited the city in the autumn of that year, but was compelled to leave it without effecting any thing.*

* He was summoned before the grand vicar and the episcopal council. When he offered to discuss the disputed points, one of the judges replied, "That would not answer our purpose: if we enter into dispute, our whole ministry will be subverted." Others cried out, "To the Rhone, to the Rhone with him! kill him, kill him! kill this new Luther!" adding, "It is better that this

Anthony Froment, a young friend of his, a native of Dauphiny, followed him soon after, and established himself as a schoolmaster, with the ulterior object of diffusing evangelical truth. He soon gathered a congregation, and labored with very great acceptance and encouraging success. But he also was obliged to quit the city in consequence of some tumultuous proceeding excited by the Romanists. After his departure the friends of reform met privately for worship and edification, often by night, to avoid the intrusion of persecutors. Several of them were denounced to the authorities, and banished. The greatest excitement prevailed in the city, in the midst of which the bishop, who had been several years absent, visited the place. But he conducted himself in so arbitrary a manner, and showed such hostility to reform, that his presence was very unacceptable; and he departed, after a stay of fifteen days, never more to return. In his absence he still ventured to legislate and command. He even went so far as to prohibit the reading of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, and to require all persons who possessed Bibles, either in German or in French, to burn them immediately, on pain of excommunication. Such decrees were harmless, because they were not obeyed; but they showed

wicked Lutheran should die, than that all the people should be disturbed." A servant of the grand vicar snapped an arquebuse at him, but happily without effect.

the disposition of the Romish party—their unchanging and unchangeable enmity to the word of God. These proceedings tended to alienate the minds of the Genevese from their bishop: their dislike was increased when they saw him connect himself with the duke of Savoy, their sworn enemy, and the removal of the bishop's court from Geneva to Gex, a town in the dominions of the duke, brought affairs to a crisis. A decree was passed in September, 1534, declaring that the bishop had abdicated his authority, and that the see was vacant. Thus the ground was cleared for the further progress of the Reformation.

Geneva was in alliance with the cantons of Berne and Friburg; the one a reformed, the other a popish canton. Berne was the more powerful body. Its interference during the last struggle between truth and error rendered important services to the good cause. Farel, Viret, and Froment accompanied a deputation from Berne, preached the Gospel under its protection, and in many ways furthered the Reformation. They remained at Geneva till the separation was fully accomplished. Their labors were eminently successful.* The finishing stroke was given at a

* A woman entered into the service of the landlord of the house where they lodged, who pretended to have been driven from Lyons by persecution, but who was in reality employed by the Romish priests to procure the death of the reformed ministers. She mixed poison with some food they were expected to partake.

public disputation held in May and June, 1535, at the close of which the Romish champions confessed that they were vanquished, and gave in their adhesion to Protestantism. Their example was followed by the people generally: an edict was issued, August 27, establishing the Reformation by law. The ministers above mentioned continued at Geneva, and Farel became chief pastor. The monasteries were suppressed. One was converted into a public school; another into a hospital. Superfluous ecclesiastical property was applied to the maintenance of the clergy and the poor, and the advancement of education.

The political liberties of Geneva were secured soon after its profession of Protestantism. The duke of Savoy having avowed his intention to annex the place to his dominions, and overturn the newly established Reformation, war was declared against him by the Canton of Berne. In less than a month, Geneva was delivered from its oppressor, and its independence fixed on a firm foundation.

The final measures adopted for the establishment of the Reformation in Geneva are thus enumerated by a modern historian:—"The council next proceeded to regulate the times and places

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Viret was the only one who tasted it; he took but little, and recovered after a severe illness, but felt the effect of the poison till the end of his life. The woman suffered death for her crime.

of public worship, the observation of the Sabbath, and other things connected with religion and morals. They established and provided for four pastors and two assistants; commanded the Sabbath to be strictly observed; appointed an early service on that day for the benefit of servants, and allowed public worship and preaching in the German and Italian languages, for the numerous refugees to whom those tongues were vernacular. They enacted laws against profaneness and licentiousness, and against public dances, fairs, masquerades, and other entertainments tending to the corruption of manners. They showed some solicitude also for the education of youth; and for this end established a public school in the late convent of the Franciscans, at the head of which was placed Anthony Saunier, a friend and fellow-countryman of Farel. On the same day that the decree was passed for the establishment of the school, the whole body of the citizens were called upon to take a solemn oath to renounce popish rites and errors, and to live according to the rules of the Gospel." But "some want of toleration was shown in punishing Roman Catholic priests who remained in the city, and were detected from time to time saying mass and administering the sacraments after the manner of their church, and even those who went abroad to other places in the neighborhood to attend these ceremonies." Scott's Continuation of Milner, iii. 308

Farel, assisted by some excellent and zealous coadjutors, had labored for several years in the Pays de Vaud, amidst much contempt and opposition, and often at imminent hazard, yet not without many tokens of success. The favorable termination of the war with the duke of Savoy transferred that district, including the city of Lusanne and other important places, to the government of Berne. Means were immediately adopted for the furtherance of Protestantism.* Ministers were stationed in the principal towns. Public discussions took place, among which a disputation at Lausanne in October, 1556, deserves to be particularly mentioned, as having produced a powerful effect on the citizens, who, almost to a man, embraced the Reformation immediately afterwards. Peter Caroli became their chief pastor. He was succeeded in the following year by Viret, the associate of Farel, who labored at Lausanne for twenty-three years, and was remarkably blessed in his work.

Calvin settled at Geneva in August, 1536. It would have been highly interesting to trace the

* The ignorance of the people was deplorable. Superstition, its natural offspring, throve amazingly. At Lutry the land was so infested with grubs that the cultivators were nearly ruined. After trying various plans without success, they sought advice of the clergy of Lausanne, who gravely counselled them to put the grubs into the ecclesiastical court and get them excommunicated!! This is not a solitary instance in ecclesiastical history!

events of his important and useful life, and point out the influence of his writings on the protestant churches of Europe: but it does not come within the limits of the present work; it belongs to a more advanced period.

The Reformation was carried farther in Switzerland than in Germany. Luther retained private confession, the use of the wafer in the Lord's supper, and other rites essentially popish, on which he was inclined to look with indulgence, as indifferent things. All these were swept away by Zuingle and his associates. It was their wish to reduce christian worship to the simple rites indicated in the New Testament.

The ecclesiastical government adopted in Switzerland was presbyterian. All ministers were considered equal in power and authority. Assembled in presbyteries and synods, and assisted by lay elders, they regulated the affairs of the churches and enacted laws of discipline. Episcopacy was absolutely abolished. The hierarchy with one mind were opposed to the Reformation.

CHAPTER V.

History of the Reformation in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

The northern parts of Europe received the knowledge of the truth from Germany. As early as the year 1521, Swedish merchants, who had visited that country for purposes of trade, embraced the principles of the Reformation, and on their return home zealously propagated the Gospel. About the same time the fame of the university of Wittemberg reached Sweden, and many students were induced to repair to that city. Among them were two brothers, Laurentius and Olaus Petri, by whose labors chiefly, under the Divine blessing, the moral regeneration of their country was subsequently effected. Olaus was at first a pastor, but soon acquired high reputation, and occupied important posts under the government. Laurentius filled various ecclesiastical offices, and at length obtained the archbishopric of Upsal.

Gustavus Vasa, who was chosen king of Sweden in 1523, was a warm admirer of Luther. While in exile at Lubeck he had studied the doctrines taught by the great reformer, and eagerly received them. As he could not but perceive that Protestantism was much more favorable to the

advancement of knowledge and freedom than Popery, he soon formed a resolution to promote its interests. One of the first measures adopted was the translation of the New Testament into Swedish, which was undertaken by Laurentius Andreas, a learned priest, who afterwards attained the dignity of chancellor. His translation was published in 1526. The king had ordered the archbishop of Upsal, who continued to adhere to Popery, to prepare another version, that by the comparison of both with the original the truth might be better ascertained. The archbishop contrived, however, to evade a compliance with the royal command, and when he found that it was impossible to offer effectual resistance to the progress of the Reformation, left the kingdom, carrying with him much treasure.

A disputation, held at Upsal in 1526, between Olaus Petri and Peter Galle, a Romish divine, was eminently serviceable to the cause of reform. The publication of its "Acts" enlightened the minds of many. Great numbers of priests embraced protestant views, and being encouraged by the nobility, who employed them as chaplains and otherwise befriended them, they were enabled to brave the fury of their ecclesiastical superiors, by whom all change was obstinately opposed.

By working on the superstitious fears of the people, especially in times of sickness, the clergy

had succeeded in alienating from their rightful possessors estates, castles, and other property of immense value, and had thereby acquired a dangerous amount of political power and influence. The straitened circumstances of the kingdom called for large sacrifices, in order to carry on the government. It was only just that the heaviest part of the burthen should be borne by the wealthiest, and that those who were revelling in abundance, and were spared the necessity of personal exertion or peril, should contribute a fair share to the supply of the nation's wants. But Gustavus appealed to a pampered clergy in vain.

They were not contented with refusing aid to their king, and striving to thwart his measures. They resisted every change, however beneficial, and denounced Gustavus to his own people as a heretic. They excited tumults, and fomented sedition in every part of the kingdom. Sweden was on the brink of ruin.

It became necessary to take a decisive step. A general convocation of the states of the kingdom was summoned to meet at Arosen, in 1527. At first there seemed to be no probability of a pacific adjustment of the existing differences. The ecclesiastics, headed by John Braske, bishop of Lincoping, obstinately refused all concession, and held a private meeting, at which they bound themselves by solemn oath to defend the privileges of their order, to retain their ill-gotten wealth, to de-

stroy all heresies, and to resist to the utmost the king's attempt at reformation. This engagement, with their signatures attached, was deposited in a tomb in the church of St. Giles, where they had met, and was found there fifteen years afterwards. Having thus encouraged one another, they rejoined the public assembly. The debate was both long and furious. At length the king, perceiving that he had made no impression, and that a satisfactory settlement was not to be hoped for, rose and said that it would be utterly impossible for him to continue on the throne, subjected to the difficulties and restraints which had brought the kingdom into such peril, and that, therefore, it was his intention to abdicate and retire into voluntary exile, only requesting that they would reimburse to him the costs and charges he had incurred in the defence of the realm, and purchase his family estate at a fair valuation. He then withdrew, accompanied by his principal military officers. Violent discussions ensued. The prelates kept their ground for a long time, and sturdily refused to yield in the least. But their obstinacy was subdued, the nobility being convinced of the reasonableness of the king's requirements. On the fourth day Gustavus received a deputation from the states, and in compliance with their unanimous solicitations consented to resume the reins of government. Decrees were passed, prohibiting for the future the interference of the bishops in state affairs,

and restoring to their lawful owners the castles and estates which had fallen into the hands of the clergy. Regulations were also made for providing the churches with suitable ministers; no one was to be ordained who was unable or unwilling to "preach the pure word of God;" the revenues of the church were placed at the disposal of the king and his council, by whom sufficient payments were to be made for the support of the clergy and the discharge of necessary expenses, the surplus being devoted to national purposes. Injunctions were given that the Scriptures should be read in all schools; and wholesome restraints were laid on the mendicant monks. By further arrangements a check was put to the exorbitant pretensions of the ecclesiastics, who had hitherto enjoyed immunity from civil processes, and set at defiance the authority of the constituted tribunals. Gerdes. Hist. iii. 304–313.

From that time the Reformation prospered in Sweden. The finishing stroke was given in 1529, at a meeting of the states, held at Orebro, at which it was resolved to abolish the papal authority, and establish a form of religion agreeable to the Scriptures. A directory for worship was published, prepared by Olaus Petri, which contained, in addition to minute directions for the performance of the church service, a compendious summary of christian doctrine. In regard to ceremonies, too great deference was paid to Romish

notions and practices. Images were allowed to be retained, "in memory of Christ and the saints." Holy water and extreme unction were still used, and some other papal rites were preserved; though care was taken to explain their design and object in such a way as to prevent, if possible, superstitious abuses. It is more gratifying that the doctrines professed by the Swedish Protestants were in full harmony with evangelical truth. On justification, in particular, Olaus Petri wrote with admirable clearness.

In Denmark, as well as in many other countries, the preaching of indulgences was one of the first means of opening the eyes of men to the errors and abominations of Romanism. Arcimbold, the papal legate, excited general disgust by his proceedings, and left the people fully disposed to receive the doctrines of Luther, which were preached among them by several persons who had studied the reformer's writings, or had heard him at Wittemberg. Among them was Martin, a learned man, who was sent to Copenhagen by the elector of Saxony, at the request of Christiern II. king of Denmark, and appointed preacher in the cathedral of that city. The effects of his labors may be estimated by the measures employed to put a stop to them. Unable to convince him of error, or to withstand the force of the truths which he preached, the canons of the cathedral hired a boy who was known as a clever mimic, and in-

structed him to learn to imitate Martin's manner of speaking and gestures, which unfortunately were not very graceful. The lad was then employed to go about the city and amuse the people with mock sermons on ludicrous subjects, delivered in Martin's style, caricatured. He was well fed, and liberally plied with intoxicating drink, that he might play his part effectively. The scheme, unworthy as it was, succeeded. Martin returned shortly afterwards to Wittemberg. Gerdes. Hist. iii. 343.

Yet the king persevered in promoting the Reformation. He prevented the condemnation of Luther's writings by the university of Copenhagen. He issued laws restraining the pomp and luxury of the prelates. And when he was deposed and driven into exile, he procured a translation of the New Testament into the Danish language, which was published at Leipsic in 1524.*

* This translation was executed by Hans Mikkelsen, who had been some time mayor of Malmoe, and was afterwards appointed secretary to the king, with whom he went into exile. Though the work was printed at Leipsic, Mikkelsen lived in the Low Countries, and copies of the Danish New Testament were transmitted in considerable numbers from Antwerp to different places in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The effects produced were so injurious to the interests of popery, that the ruling powers thought it necessary to interfere. "The counsellors of the kingdom, in company with the bishops, among other measures which they resolved to adopt in order to put a stop to the spread of the new heresy, unanimously determined to 'interdict new and dan

Frederic I. who succeeded Christiern, was predisposed in favor of evangelical truth, and soon showed an inclination to patronise the reformers. George Sadolin, who had visited Wittemberg, and returned to his native city, Wibourg, in 1525, opened a protestant seminary, encouraged by the king, under whose protection he persevered in his useful labors, notwithstanding the opposition of the bishop of the diocese. Many other persons were also diligently engaged in the good work.

John Taussen held a high rank among the Danish reformers. He was born at Birkinde, in the year 1494, of poor parents, who were totally unable to defray the expenses of his education. His aptitude for learning was so manifest that he obtained admission into a monastery at Antvorscov, where the highest hopes were entertained respecting him, and provision was made for the completion of his studies at any foreign university he might select, Wittemberg excepted, which at that early period was considered as tainted with heresy. He went to Cologne; but soon grew dissatisfied with the writings of the school divines, which were then chiefly studied at that university. Some of the works of Luther falling

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gerous books which are daily imported from Antwerp and other places.' This prohibition, however, produced but little effect, and the word of God continued to be more or less read by the inhabitants of Denmark and its dependencies." Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature, ii. 315.

into his hands, he quickly received the truths taught by the great reformer, and, in defiance of the prohibition of his superiors, repaired to Wittemberg. He returned in 1521, and remained some time at Rostock, where he obtained his degree as master of arts, and began to preach. Resuming his place in the monastery at Antvorscov, he unsparingly denounced the superstitions and vices of the monastic orders, and urged the necessity of a thorough reformation. His discourses were heard with much chagrin. One, delivered on Palm Sunday, 1524, in which he enlarged on the insufficiency of all human works, and inculcated the doctrine of salvation by grace, through the atonement of Christ, was so distasteful to his monkish audience that it was determined to get rid of him at once. In obedience to the commands of the prior, he went to reside in a monastery at Wibourg. The prior of that monastery imprisoned him. But nothing could repress Taussen's zeal. He preached the Gospel from the windows of his dungeon, and turned many to the truth. His fame reached the king, who appointed him one of his chaplains, and gave him special permission to preach in any of the churches of Wibourg. Expelled from the monastery as an incorrigible heretic, he proclaimed the glad tidings of redemption to listening multitudes, who flocked from all parts to hear him. The bishop and his clergy took the alarm; the use of the churches

was forbidden; upon which Taussen gathered the people in the churchyard and preached from a gravestone. They then endeavored to repress the meetings by the aid of the civil power; but the people were not to be daunted; they went armed to their assemblies, prepared to repel force by force, and appeared so determined that opposition was fruitless. A royal decree was obtained, securing the free publication of the Gospel to the citizens of Wibourg. Gerdes. Hist. iii. 355–359.

The proceedings of an assembly of the states, held at Odensee in 1527, indicated considerable advance in the right direction. Frederic's address was remarkably apposite and well-timed. Having reminded the bishops of the obligations under which they were laid to feed the church of Christ with the pure word of God, and watch over its interests with unremitting diligence, he adverted to the astonishing spread of Lutheran doctrines, which could not, he said, be wondered at, seeing that the ministers of the Romish church had forsaken the fountain of heavenly truth, and led the people to the muddy pools of human traditions; and that wretched fables and absurd tales of miracles had been circulated among them to such an extent, and with such perverse activity, as to excite disgust and loathing even in the untaught multitude. He knew that he had sworn to maintain the Catholic and Roman faith, but he could not regard that oath as binding him to sanction

the errors, abuses and superstitions which had gradually crept in, and had obtained permanence throughout christendom. He had promised to preserve the rights and privileges of the clergy, and intended to keep his promise. They, however, must be fully aware that the principles of the Reformation had taken deep root in Denmark, and could not be eradicated without much bloodshed and the infliction of great distress and injury on his subjects. He was not prepared to adopt such measures; and it was, therefore, his desire that all men should be permitted the free exercise of their religion till a general council should be convened, to whose pious decrees he would render cheerful obedience.

The king's address was received by all, the clergy excepted, with great satisfaction. Decrees were passed, by which full liberty of conscience was granted; ample and equal protection was to be afforded to Papists and Lutherans; monks and nuns were allowed to leave their convents and enter into secular life; the clergy were permitted to marry; bishops were forbidden to send to Rome for the pallium, thus acknowledging the jurisdiction of the pope; and ecclesiastical jurisdiction was restrained to ecclesiastical matters. Gerdes. Hist. iii. 363–365.

Malmoe, in the island of Funen, was the first town in which the Reformation was fully established. Martin and Spandermager zealously

preached the Gospel there, and with a great blessing. In the year 1528 they wisely introduced congregational singing into public worship, and published a psalm-book for the use of the people. This was a highly popular step. A version of the psalms was printed about the same time. So powerful was the effect of these measures, that in the following year Romanism was utterly abolished in Malmoe.

Norway received the Gospel from Danish preachers; that country being then politically connected with Denmark. Bergen was first evangelized, and from that city the light gradually diffused itself to other parts.

A new edition of the Danish New Testament was published in 1529, by Christian Pedersen, a canon of Lund, who had recently embraced protestant principles. It was a much improved version, and was very acceptable to the lovers of truth in Denmark. In the same year Taussen was appointed preacher of the church of St. Nicholas in Copenhagen, where his eloquent and forcible discourses, unmasking the abominations of Rome, and expounding evangelical doctrine in the fervid style of one who had "tasted the good word of God," attracted crowds of hearers, and contributed greatly to the prosperity of the cause.

So general and deep was the impression in favor of the Gospel, that the king judged the time

was come to make a public demonstration. Having intimated that at the meeting of the states, in 1530, the subject of religion would be specially brought before them, the Romish prelates sent a deputation to Cologne, and procured the assistance of a body of German divines.* Taussen headed the protestant party, and delivered in, on their behalf, a luminous confession of faith. The Romanists presented a counter confession, denouncing their opponents as heretics, and urged the king to put them down by force. A public disputation was then proposed. Taussen and his friends readily agreed to it; but insurmountable difficulties were quickly thrown in the way. The Papists determined to dispute in the Latin language; the Protestants preferred the Danish. The former required submission to the pope as the final judge in controversy, or to the decisions

* When Taussen was at Wibourg, the bishop sent to Eck, hoping by his aid to silence his opponent; but Eck declined the doubtful honor. Application was then made to Cochlæus; he asked the advice of Erasmus, and in compliance with his suggestion, refused to accept the invitation. "The journey is long," said Erasmus; "the people are said to be of a savage disposition, and winter is at hand. If it were the kingdom of Christ the bishops were contending for, and not their own, we should be more ready to join in the contest. The only advice I can therefore give in the matter is, that you regard it as the cause of Christ, and not that of man, and that you be more intent on the salvation than the punishment of men." Quoted in Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature, ii. 329.

of a general council; the latter refused to bow to any authority but that of the Scriptures, only conceding that the secular power should declare which of the contending parties delivered sentiments most accordant with the sacred book. As neither would yield, no discussion took place. But it was easy to see that the Protestants had the advantage, and from that time their sentiments made rapid progress. Gerdes. Hist. iii. 385.

Frederic I. died April 10, 1533. After his death an interregnum of nearly two years followed, during which the bishops got the upper hand, usurped the government, and attempted to reinstate Popery in its former power and honor. They partially succeeded, but not to the extent of their wishes, public opinion being generally against them. The fury of the storm was mainly directed against Taussen. "His enemies exerted their influence against him, and occasioned him to be summoned to appear before the states of the kingdom. Here he was accused in the bitterest manner; and though he defended himself with great ability, the prelates sentenced him to lose his life, honor, and goods. This sentence the council refused to confirm; though he was ordered to leave the island, and never appear more either in Zealand or Skanîa. But the citizens, having been apprized of the manner in which he was treated, assembled before the chamber and demanded that he should be delivered to them

safe and sound. An amiable trait in Taussen's character displayed itself on this occasion. The populace were so exasperated at bishop Rönnow, whom they regarded as the author of the prosecution, that they were determined to wreak their vengeance on him as he returned to his residence. Taussen, however, calmed their fury, and conducted his enemy by the arm through the mob to the door of his house." Townley's Illustrations, ii. 331.

After the election of Christiern III. son of the late king, in 1535, the bishops persevered in their machinations, and involved the kingdom in the horrors of civil war. Its issue was fatal to them. The new king established his power in spite of all opposition. One of the first results of his success was the arrest and consequent deprivation of the rebellious prelates. The opportunity was taken to bring the whole question of reformation before the assembled states of the kingdom, at a diet held at Copenhagen. The episcopal order was abolished. All ecclesiastical property was placed under the management of the state, with the understanding that after sufficient provision had been made for the support of the clergy, and the establishment of colleges, hospitals, poor-houses, and reformed monasteries, the surplus should be devoted to the discharge of debts incurred in the late war, and the remission of taxes. Other important measures were adopted to con-

solidate and render permanent the great work. Luther was frequently consulted. At his recommendation Bugenhagius went to Copenhagen, where he remained a considerable time. He presided at the coronation, substituting for popish forms a ceremonial less superstitious and in better harmony with Scripture. He prepared a new ordination service on protestant principles, which was used at the ordination of seven superintendents placed over the dioceses of the deprived bishops. He re-organized the university of Copenhagen, which had fallen into decay, and was now revived by the king's command, and munificently endowed. His services were so valuable that the king earnestly desired to retain him in Denmark, but he declined the liberal offers that were made him and returned to his parochial charge at Wittemberg.

The final settlement of the Reformation was accomplished at a meeting of the states held at Odensee, in 1539. All that had been done by Bugenhagius was then solemnly ratified, and Protestantism was declared the established religion of Denmark. Gerdes. Hist. iii. 414.

Taussen continued zealous in advancing the cause of truth. In 1535 he had published a version of the Pentateuch, which proved highly acceptable to the friends of religion. Two years afterwards he was appointed professor of theology at Roskilde. He was promoted to the superin-

tendency of the diocese of Ripen in 1542, where he labored till November 9, 1561, when death terminated his arduous and useful career.

In compliance with the earnest recommendation of Bugenhagius, the king undertook to furnish Denmark with the entire Scriptures in the vernacular tongue. The theological faculty of the university of Copenhagen were engaged to superintend the work. No expense was spared. It was finished in 1550 : Luther's version was chiefly followed.

The establishment of the Reformation in Denmark was comparatively unstained by violence and blood. A civil war has been mentioned, but that did not last long. No scaffolds were erected for the execution of the innocent. No martyrs' piles blazed. The progress of truth was gradual, and a peaceful triumph crowned the holy enterprise.

CHAPTER VI.

History of the Reformation in the Low Countries.

The Low Countries, or Netherlands, (including the present kingdoms of Holland and Belgium,) formed part of the extensive dominions of Charles V. At the rise of the Reformation they were governed by Margaret of Austria, the emperor's

aunt, who had been intrusted with the regency in 1512.

Luther's doctrines were disseminated by his followers with eager zeal. The printers, too, found it advantageous to re-publish his works. The writings of the reformers were in consequence widely circulated in the Netherlands, and with great effect, as may be judged by the efforts made to suppress the truth. An edict issued in 1521, prohibiting the publication of any theological work without the permission of the bishops, having proved fruitless, the emperor appointed two commissioners, with full power to make inquisition for heresy, and punish all delinquents. Many persons were thrown into prison. The case of Cornelius Grapheus, secretary to the city of Antwerp, was peculiarly hard, and forcibly illustrates the malignity of Romanism. His alleged offence was that, several years before, he had written a preface to a work published by John van Gooch,* in which he censured some enactments and ceremonies of the church as a yoke needlessly placed on christian people. The book fell into the hands of the commissioners, who quickly detected here-

* He was prior of a monastery in Mechlin, where he died in the year 1475. In the work edited by Grampheus he had maintained that the Scriptures only have authority in matters of faith This was sufficient to procure the condemnation of the unfortunate editor.

sy in the preface. Grapheus was imprisoned. Affrighted at his situation, he offered to retract. But it was in vain. Men might publish "comedies, farces, and lampoons, though never so sharp and indecent," as Grapheus justly observed, with full impunity: it was only when they ventured to attack the church that they were to be restrained. To doubt the truth of any doctrines held at Rome, however absurd; or to question the propriety of any observances, however ridiculous, was an offence not to be forgiven. The sentence passed on Grapheus was, that he should make a public recantation at Brussels and Antwerp, and cast the obnoxious preface into the fire with his own hands; that all his property should be confiscated; that he should be for ever incapable of holding any public office; and that he should suffer perpetual imprisonment.

Others were still more severely punished. Many of the Augustinian friars at Anvers having embraced the principles of the Reformation, they were imprisoned and brought to trial. Some recanted. Three persevered, and were sentenced to the flames. Two of them, Henry Voes and John Echt, suffered joyfully at Brussels July 1, 1523. Three days afterwards, Lambert Thorn, their companion, who had been induced by fear to request a short respite, endured the same fate. Others were similarly put to death by order of Aleander, the papal nuncio, in different parts of

the Netherlands. These executions did great service to the cause of truth. Erasmus did not scruple to affirm, and doubtless with good reason, that wherever Aleander lighted the fires of martyrdom the soil was at the same time sown with heresy.

"All the accounts agree that, in the years 1523 and 1524, the persecutions were excessively severe. A single well-authenticated instance will often demonstrate both the temper of the rulers and the prevailing sentiments of the people. For example, at Antwerp, a certain person had been in the habit of explaining the Gospel on Sundays to a vast concourse of people. An express order was issued to forbid the practice. The people, however, met in the dock-yards; and, as their usual preacher or expositor did not make his appearance, a zealous youth, named Nicolaus, placed himself in a boat near the shore and addressed the audience in a very pious manner, from the chapter concerning the five loaves and two fishes. The very next day he was ordered to be seized and put into a sack, lest he should be known by the people; and in that state he was suddenly thrown into the river." Milner's History of the Church, cent. xvi. chap. 10.

It would be a sickening task to detail the horrors of the numerous martyrdoms, the narrative of which constitutes so large a portion of the ecclesiastical history of the Netherlands. The suf-

ferings of the servants of God were more severe, and the struggle longer protracted there than in any other country. There was but one way of dealing with presumed heretics: they must recant, or be beheaded, strangled or burned, at the discretion of their inhuman judges. In spite of these terrible inflictions, the separations from Rome became more and more numerous; many monks and nuns left their convents and entered into social life. It was calculated that a majority of the inhabitants of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders had imbibed the doctrine taught by the reformers. Exasperated by this, the persecutors adopted yet more severe measures. By an edict published October 14, 1529, all persons convicted of Protestantism were condemned to die—the men to be beheaded, the women to be buried alive—and such as had recanted, and afterwards relapsed, to be burned. Those who received alleged heretics into their houses were adjudged to suffer death and confiscation of goods. Persons suspected of heresy were excluded from all public employments, and liberal rewards were promised to informers. Nevertheless, the word of God grew and multiplied.

Jacob Liesveldt, a printer, published an edition of the Bible in the Belgic language in 1526 It was a most acceptable boon to the suffering people of God, and a fountain of living waters to many souls thirsting for knowledge and grace.

But it cost the printer his life. He had interspersed some brief annotations, one of which was to this effect:—"that salvation proceeds from Christ alone." The full reception of this truth is a death-blow to the superstitions of Rome; those who held it were, therefore, marked out for vengeance. Liesveldt was beheaded at Antwerp, and successive proclamations were issued against those who met to read and converse about the Scriptures, or even possessed the prohibited translation. The penalty was forfeiture of life and goods. It was further enacted, that whoever published any new book, on any subject, without permission, should be set in the pillory, or branded with a red-hot iron, or have one eye plucked out, or a hand cut off.

On the death of Margaret of Austria in 1530, Mary, widow of Lewis, king of Hungary, sister to Charles V. succeeded to the regency, and carried on the persecution with equal rigor. In the first year of her government nine men were beheaded at the Hague at one time; and in the next year a whole family, consisting of the father and mother, and two daughters, with their husbands, were burned in the same fire, at Leinburg, joyfully singing the praises of God and calling upon the Savior with their latest breath. The impressions produced upon the spectators on such occasions were so unfavorable to the dominant religion, that the courts of judicature petitioned the regent to

order that heretics should be privately executed.

For upwards of twenty years similar scenes were continually before the eyes of the people: but the truth steadily advanced; the number of its friends daily increased; the Scriptures and useful theological works obtained wide circulation. There was no slackening of the opposition,* nor did the servants of the Savior flinch from the trials of their faith. They "loved not their lives unto the death;" and they were graciously sustained by the faithfulness of their Lord.

In 1555 Philip II. succeeded to the government by the resignation of Charles V. He immediately confirmed all his father's edicts against Protestantism; and under his auspices the persecution was revived, and continued to rage with increased vigor.

The case of Angelus Merula deserves a full narration, as an illustration of the cruelty and craft to which the adherents of Rome had recourse in supporting their anti-christian system. Merula was born at Brill, in the year 1482. He was appointed to the living of Henfleet, where he spent his life in assiduous study of the Scriptures and diligent attention to the duties of his office, beloved and revered by all. The more carefully he

* Portraits of the reformers were hung up at the gates of towns and cities, and in other public places, that they might be the more easily discovered and apprehended.

searched the word of God, the more fully was he convinced of the great need of reformation. In 1552 he went so far as to make alterations in that part of the office of the mass which recognises the merits and intercession of the saints; he preached on the necessity of the reformation, and was evidently advancing towards Protestantism. The next year his books and papers were seized, and he was cast into prison. He was accused of various so-called heresies, such as these:—"that it is better to neglect ten masses than one sermon; that nothing is necessary to salvation but what is found in the word of God; that faith without charity is not true faith; that men ought to live according to the rules of the Gospel, without following any other rule." His manuscripts were examined and re-examined with jesuitical sagacity, in order to discover fresh proofs of guilt; but he boldly defended himself, and refused to retract any sentiments he had maintained. His sufferings excited universal sympathy; crowds flocked to the prison to see him; and the inquisitors began to fear that he would eventually triumph, since it was evidently perilous to adopt extreme measures against a man whom all loved and honored.

A villanous expedient was devised, which unhappily proved too successful. One day a dignified ecclesiastic, bearing the title of bishop of Hebron, entered Merula's cell, pretending to be in a state of the greatest anxiety and grief on his account.

Prostrating himself before the prisoner, and shedding abundance of tears, he besought him to yield and be reconciled. After some flattering encomiums on his learning and piety, he proceeded to state, that in regard to doctrinal matters there was no difference between them—it was confessed that he was perfectly orthodox. It was only necessary that he should confess his fault in altering certain ceremonies which, being enjoined by the church, ought to be reverently observed by all her children. "Submit, therefore, I beseech you," said the bishop, "to the church and her decisions, to avoid tumults and disorders. You see the people are very much incensed: would you expose us to the violence and fury of the mob? Preserve your life for the sake of the poor, who desire the preservation of it with so many tears. Preserve ours; for it depends upon you. The only thing we require from you is, that you would be pleased to acknowledge that you have imprudently undertaken to abolish some customs and ceremonies which are indifferent in their own nature, and that you are sorry for it."

This plausible speech produced the desired effect. Merula was persuaded into compliance. On an appointed day he was led from his prison to a scaffold erected in a public place, which was surrounded by a multitude of people who had assembled to hear his confession, and expected that it would be expressed in terms answerable to the

bishop's proposal. One of the inquisitors present produced a document, which was said to be the confession, and proceeded to read it, but in a low voice, and so fast, that Merula, who was very deaf, could not hear a word. He was represented as saying that he abjured the heresies of Luther, and all errors contrary to the faith of the church of Rome; that he believed all the doctrines of that church, and would live and die in her communion, out of which he believed no one could be saved: and finally, he solicited the prayers of the people and begged pardon of those whom he had seduced into error.

When the contents of the paper were made known to the assembled throng, admiration gave way to disgust, and pity to indignation. They had looked upon Merula as a martyr, and now they regarded him as an impostor. Neither he nor they knew at the time the infamous cheat which had been practised. He asked to read the confession; but that would have discovered the whole. There was not time, they said; they were in haste; a riot might break out; he must sign at once, and might read it afterwards. It was done, and then sentence was passed; which was, that he should be deprived of his benefice, and degraded; that he should publicly read his confession in his own church; that he should suffer perpetual imprisonment; spend his life in a state of penitentiary discipline, and pay all the costs of his iniquitous prosecution.

When the poor old man returned to his dungeon the truth was disclosed, and he was overwhelmed with grief at the discovery. Justly indignant at the deception of which he had been the subject, he loudly complained of the wrong, protested his innocence of the apparent act of apostacy, and declared that he still believed, and would maintain till death the truths which he had preached and published before his imprisonment. Many attempts were made to shake his constancy, but in vain. He was removed from prison to prison, and subjected to great sufferings for several years; yet he still continued firm, and was at length condemned to be burned as a relapsed heretic.

The sentence was executed July 27, 1557, at Mons, in which place he had endured his last imprisonment. On the morning of that day his nephew, whom he had treated as a son, and to whom he was tenderly attached, arrived at Mons, quite ignorant of his uncle's condemnation. They met on the road as the martyr was going to the stake. His soul was in a peaceful frame. He longed to be with Christ, and bade the young man convey to his friends the assurance that he was happy in being permitted to seal with his blood the truths he had held and taught. Arrived at the place of execution, he requested permission to pray. Kneeling down close to the stake, the whole desires of his soul were poured forth in ardent supplications. While thus engaged, he suddenly fell,

as if exhausted by the effort. The executioner approached, thinking that he had swooned; but the spirit had departed. God had granted a gentler dismission: the flames consumed his lifeless flesh, but the soul was already with the Savior. Brandt's History of the Reformation in the Low Countries: abridged edition, pp. 81–88.

Philip remained in the Low Countries four years, urging on the work of death. But his efforts were in vain. In 1559 he took up his residence in Spain, leaving Margaret, duchess of Parma, at the head of the government, and enjoining on the members of the administration the most rigid adherence to the exterminating policy he had adopted. His directions were complied with, yet still the work of God advanced.

The Reformed published a confession of faith, showing that their principles were sound and scriptural. On their re-issuing it, three years afterwards, an address to Philip was prefixed, in which they told him that at that time there were upwards of one hundred thousand persons in the Low Countries who professed Protestantism—a proof of the power of truth, and the strong influence of religious feeling.

At length the horrible sufferings endured by the servants of God, and the frightful waste of property and life, produced a re-action which involved the Low Countries in the horrors of civil war. The notorious duke of Alva, who assumed

the government in 1567, perpetrated enormities, the recital of which would make the stoutest heart shudder. In the course of five years this demon in human shape put to death eighteen thousand persons by the hands of the common executioner. The nobility and gentry were beheaded. Others were hanged or burned. Trees were often loaded with dead bodies suspended from their branches. The very beams of the protestant churches were made use of for this horrid purpose. In many places the atmosphere was infected by the stench arising from the carcasses of the victims. By a refinement of cruelty peculiar to popish persecutions, the martyrs were gagged, that no expressions of their joy and steadfastness in death might be heard by the multitude. But sometimes the gags were not inserted, or dropped out of their mouths. Another expedient was then adopted, worthy of the infernals themselves. The ends of the tongues of the sufferers were burned with red-hot irons, by which means they were effectually incapacitated from speaking.

A hundred thousand persons, it was computed, left their homes and took refuge in Germany and other countries, to avoid the fate which impended over them. This might have convinced the duke of Alva of the impracticability of his schemes. But he persevered in his blood-thirsty career. By unjust and oppressive taxation, and other tyrannical measures, he goaded the people to desperation. A

general revolt followed. The plains of Holland and Zealand were drenched with blood. Alva was superseded in the government in 1573 by Requesens, a man of much milder character, who died in 1576, and was succeeded by Don John of Austria;* but it was too late to repair the mischief. Spanish misrule had excited universal disgust and hatred. After a protracted and hard-fought contest, the provinces achieved their independence. Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friseland, Groningen, Overyssel and Guelderland, in which Protestantism chiefly prevailed, formed the confederation of the "Seven United Provinces," and were finally separated from Spain. The other provinces, constituting what were then called the Spanish Netherlands, remained in connexion with the monarchy, and in them there were occasional outbreaks of persecution for many years. The last martyrdom in the Low Countries took place in 1595. The sufferer was a female servant, named Anne von der Hoor. She was buried alive near Brussels. After the executioner had laid her in the grave, and thrown some earth upon her, beginning at the feet, and covering the body as far as the shoulders, some priests approached and as-

* Pope Gregory XIII. issued a bull granting plenary indulgence to all who fought under Don John against the Protestants. There was a cross on his standard, with this motto, *In hoc signo vici Turcas: in hoc signo vincam hæreticos.* "By this sign I overcame the Turks: by this sign I shall overcome the heretics."

sured her that her life would be spared if she returned to the church of Rome. But she refused to listen, saying, "Those who seek to save their lives here shall lose them hereafter;" and commended herself in prayer to the Lord. The executioner then threw a quantity of earth on her face, and trod upon it. A groan was heard—and all was over.

The United Provinces struggled hard to maintain and preserve their freedom, and eventually succeeded. The energies of Protestantism were fully developed in their history. Civil and religious liberty were found to be inseparably connected; knowledge, truth, and godliness prevailed; and the people were happy and prosperous.

CHAPTER VII.

History of the Reformation in France.

SECTION I.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT TO THE PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN.

Lefevre d'Etaples had been seventeen years professor of theology in the university of Paris when William Farel arrived in that city to pursue his studies. Lefevre was no common man: he de-

rived his knowledge of divinity chiefly from the Scriptures, and exhorted the students to search the sacred volume for themselves. He was also well versed in classical literature. His lectures were listened to with eagerness, and very numerously attended. Nevertheless he was a devout worshipper of the saints. He spent almost as much time in the churches, kneeling at the altars of the Virgin Mary and other deified personages, as in his study; for as yet he was tied and bound by the chain of the papacy.

William Farel was born in a village of the same name in Dauphiny, in the year 1489. His family was ancient and noble. His parents trained him up in superstition. Much of his early life was spent in pilgrimages and other acts of devotion. It had been hoped that he would choose the profession of arms; but, greatly to the disquietude of his father, he evinced an irrepressible desire for learning. He proceeded to Paris in the year 1510. There Lefevre honored him with his intimate friendship. Many an hour did they spend together in literary conference, and many a visit did they pay to the holy images. "At that time," said Farel, "I believed in the cross, in images, in vows, in bones. The wafer which the priest held in his hands, placed in the box, shut up there, eaten, and given to others to eat, was to me the true God, and there was no other, either in heaven or on the earth." D'Aubigné, iii. 476.

About the year 1512 a great change took place in Lefevre's views. He had undertaken to compile the lives of the saints and martyrs, arranged in the order in which they are adored throughout the year. It was a work of great toil. Two months of the series were completed, when the author suddenly relinquished his labor. He became so disgusted with the childishness of the legends that he could proceed no further. Abandoning his task, he devoted himself exclusively to the study of the Scriptures. It was not long before he discovered the doctrine of justification by faith. He received it with joy, and immediately communicated the truth to the youth of the university. The effects were similar to those produced in apostolic times. Some derided; some opposed; a few were subdued to Christ, and among them was Farel. At first the new doctrine, for such it was regarded, repelled and shocked him, overturning, as it did, all his cherished notions of human merit. But the conflict was short. The Spirit of the Lord convinced him "of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment." Farel was gained to the truth, and thenceforward maintained it with undiverted zeal.

Important accessions were soon gained. Among those who joined the evangelical ranks at this early period was Briçonnet, count of Montbrunn and bishop of Meaux. He had just returned from an embassy to Rome, and found that great alterations had taken place in the state of religion in the uni-

versity of Paris during his absence. This excited his attention and led to inquiry. The result was his conversion. Such a change in a person of his station and influence produced powerful effects. Through his connexion with the court, the truths of the Gospel were introduced to many persons of noble birth, and in numerous instances with the happiest results. But the most splendid triumph was the conversion of Margaret of Valois, duchess of Alençon, and sister to the king. She possessed great talents; her mind was well cultivated; and she was held in such high esteem by her brother that her advice was often sought in affairs of state. It was not to be doubted that she would render essential service to the cause of Gospel truth.

For several years this movement was confined to Paris. The friends of truth had to struggle with much opposition. Beda, syndic of the Sorbonne, a proud bigot, a man of fierce passions and implacable in resentment, was at the head of the Romish party. Influenced by him, the university of Paris undertook an examination of the works of Luther, which issued in a decree of condemnation, published in April, 1521, whereby the writings of the reformer were ordered to be burned. Other measures followed. Beda thirsted for blood. Not content with subjecting the reformers in the university to every kind of vexation, he attempted to excite the king to open persecution. At that time, however, the attempt was unsuccessful. Francis I

knew that the accused persons were some of the brightest ornaments of the university, and that there was nothing to object to them but their religion; under this conviction, he resolutely refused to interfere. Foiled and mortified, Beda redoubled his activity, determined to effect his object by repeated acts of petty molestation. He succeeded. Lefevre accepted the invitation of Briçonnet, and sought an asylum at Meaux. Farel and some others remained awhile at Paris, boldly braving their foes; but at length they also left the scene of conflict.

Briçonnet welcomed the servants of the Lord, and availed himself of their labors. Under his protection they preached the truth in Meaux and its neighborhood, announcing every where the glad tidings of free justification, and inviting their hearers to the Savior. "The word of God is sufficient;"—that was their foundation principle. They proclaimed it with unyielding boldness. "The knowledge of Christ and his word," said they, "is the universal theology—the only life-giving system." These truths were not published in vain. The Lord gave testimony to the word of his grace, both in Meaux and in the surrounding districts. A powerful impulse was given to the work by the translation and printing of the New Testament. This important undertaking was accomplished by Lefevre in the year 1522; a version of the psalms was issued two years afterwards. The usual con-

sequences followed. Meaux was chiefly peopled by artizans, and other persons engaged in the wool trade, whose minds had never been poisoned by school divinity. They received the precious gift with joy and thankfulness. The New Testament became the constant companion of many an industrious mechanic. The furniture of the workshop was not complete without it. In the intervals of labor its pages were eagerly read. On Lord's days and saints' days, hour after hour was employed in searching the Scriptures, comparing one part with another, that they might know the whole counsel of God. The bishop greatly encouraged the faithful preachers of the Gospel. Sometimes he himself ascended the pulpit, proclaimed the truth, and warned his flock not to forsake the good way, even if he should apostatize; a warning which some of them had reason afterwards to remember. "Not only was the word of God preached," says an old chronicle of the times, "but it was practised; all works of charity were performed; the morals of the people were improved; and superstition declined."

The Franciscan monks were alarmed. They saw that if this state of things continued, their gains, already much lessened, would dwindle quite away. Determined to strike a heavy blow, they accused Briçonnet before the Sorbonne, as an encourager of heresy. The bishop escaped, but at the expense of consistency and friendship

Unable to brave persecution, he consented to sacrifice his faithful coadjutors, and withdrew their licences to preach. Farel, who was the most obnoxious, was obliged to quit Meaux. The rest were silenced.

But "the word of God was not bound." Those who had believed "through grace," resolved to stand by one another. They met in secret to read the word and pray. Such as were able exhorted the brethren. Among them, John Leclerc, a wool-carder, was distinguished for piety and zeal. He went from house to house, "confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them that through much tribulation they must enter into the kingdom of God." A bold step brought down upon him the vengeance of his foes. He wrote a placard, containing a denunciation of the Romish antichrist, whom the Lord would soon destroy, and affixed it to the gates of the cathedral. The monks were frantic with rage. Leclerc was forthwith seized and cast into prison. He was quickly condemned, and sentenced to be thrice whipped through the city, on three successive days, and branded on the forehead as a heretic.

The sentence was executed in the presence of an immense crowd; some cursing, some comforting him. On the third day after the last whipping he was taken to the common place of execution to be branded. When a red-hot iron was applied to his forehead, a piercing cry was heard

in the midst of the throng. It was his mother's voice. She had witnessed his previous sufferings, and spoken words of consolation as the blows fell on his flesh. Her heart was now torn at the sight of his agonies. But faith triumphed. "Christ and his marks for ever!"* she exclaimed, and then slowly and sorrowfully made her way through the croud to her humble home. Many sympathized with her; all pitied; none ventured to molest. Even the hard-hearted monks repressed their fury and forbore to call for punishment. Leclerc was released, and withdrew to the neighborhood of Metz. The little flock continued to hold its meetings as before, but the greatest secrecy was observed.

Encouraged by this success, the enemies of truth sought a nobler prey. Louis Berquin, a gentleman of noble birth, and connected with the court, had early embraced the Gospel, and evinced great zeal in the propagation and defence of its doctrines. Not only did he encourage Farel and his associates in their efforts while they remained in Paris, but, after their departure he stood his ground singly and alone, employing all the means in his power to enlighten the minds of his fellow-countrymen, and rouse them to an effective opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny. Being himself a learned man and a powerful writer, he

* *Vive Jésus Christ et ses enseignes!* "I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus." Gal. 6 : 17.

used his pen so skilfully that the advocates of error were filled with rage and fear. The keen wit of his epigrams exasperated them almost to madness. Besides this, he was an industrious collector of the works of Luther, and other German reformers, which he translated into French, and published and circulated, to the no small dismay of the doctors of the Sorbonne.

He was marked for vengeance. One day, as he was sitting in his study, engaged in his beloved work, the house was forcibly entered and his books and papers seized. After an examination of the books, which were declared to be heretical, Berquin was apprehended and committed to prison. His fate seemed to be sealed; but the king interposed on his behalf, evoked the cause before himself in council, and set the prisoner at liberty.

Leclerc labored at Metz, with much zeal and very encouraging indications of the Divine blessing. He still pursued his occupation as a woolcarder, employing all the time he could spare from manual labor in making known the Gospel among the artizans of the city. Chatelain, an Augustinian monk, a doctor in theology, and a popular preacher, having received the truth, announced it from the pulpit with great effect. Converts became numerous, and it appeared likely that Metz would be a flourishing and important station, when this pleasing prospect was suddenly overshadowed with darkness At a short distance

from Metz was a chapel containing several images of the Virgin Mary and other saints, which were regarded with great reverence, and annually visited in pilgrimage by the inhabitants of the city. On that occasion it was supposed that they obtained plenary indulgence. The eve of the day had arrived. Leclerc had long beheld the idolatry of the people with grief and holy anger. His spirit was stirred within him, when he thought of the sin that was about to be committed in bowing down before and serving images. He repaired in the dead of the night to the chapel, obtained entrance, broke in pieces all the idols, and returned to the city just as the morning dawned.

At the appointed hour the procession was formed. Priests and monks in abundance were there, chanting the accustomed prayers. Glittering crosses were carried before them. Rich banners floated in the breeze. Melodious music filled the air. The gates of Metz poured forth its thousands on that joyous day, all eager to testify their attachment to the virgin and the saints, and secure for themselves the fancied blessings of the indulgence. What was their consternation to find the gods of their idolatry hurled from their pedestals, and their mutilated limbs covering the pavement of the chapel! The singing ceased; the music was heard no more; the crosses and banners were lowered. Grief, terror and indignation filled every breast. "Death to the sacrilegious wretch!" was

the universal cry; and they rushed back tumultuously to Metz, resolved to discover and punish the offender.

Suspicion immediately fell upon Leclerc. He was apprehended and examined, and at once acknowledged the deed, glorying in it. Instant death was demanded by the furious multitude, and he was dragged to the place of execution without delay. His sufferings were frightful. First, his right hand was cut off; then his flesh was torn from his body in several places by red-hot pincers; then his arms were broken. Finally, he was burned to death at a slow fire. But his spirit quailed not. Sustained by the grace of God, he endured patiently, and repeated with a loud voice the words of the Psalmist, "Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands," &c. Psalm 115 : 4–9. He died in peace and joy.

Chatelain soon followed him. He was imprisoned and degraded, and shortly afterwards committed to the flames. Other victims would have been added to the list, had they not sought safety by flight. Thus the Gospel was driven from Metz as well as from Meaux. The north of France relapsed into gross Popery.

Meanwhile Farel was actively engaged in the south. When he was compelled to quit Meaux he returned to his native place, and commenced a course of indefatigable labor, making known the Gospel in all directions, and turning men "from

dumb idols to serve the living God." Driven by persecution from the towns, he withdrew to the rural districts, and went from house to house, as he could find access, enduring great hardships, living on coarse fare, and often sleeping in the woods. His efforts were not unblessed. Several members of his own family received the truth. Many other persons in different parts of the country were converted; among whom may be particulary mentioned the Chevalier Anemond, a gentleman of Dauphiny, to whom the cause of the Reformation was ultimately much indebted; and Sebville, a priest of Grenoble, a very popular preacher. But the best proof of the effects produced by Farel's endeavors is furnished by the fact, that he was soon obliged to leave France altogether, in order to avoid falling into the hands of the persecutor. Having spent some time at Basle, where he formed a lasting friendship with Ecolampadius, and visited Switzerland, he became pastor of Montbelliard, a town belonging to the duchy of Wurtemburg, but surrounded by the French and Swiss territories. This was a very important station; he could labor there unmolested, and still have access to the neighboring French provinces.

At the same time an interesting movement took place at Lyons. Margaret of Valois accompanied the king, her brother, as far as that city, when he went on his unfortunate expedition into Italy.

She remained there some time. In her suite were several warm-hearted servants of the Lord, who, under her auspices and protection, preached the Gospel, and otherwise exerted themselves in the cause of truth, in Lyons and its neighborhood, as far as Grenoble. Very encouraging results followed. Again, however, opposition was excited. At Grenoble, Sebville was forbidden to preach, on pain of death; and the friends of truth in that quarter were obliged to meet secretly, in the dead of night, in unfrequented places and lonely houses. Maigret, an eloquent preacher, whose sermons had produced a great sensation at Lyons, was charged with heresy, apprehended, even in the presence of Margaret, and cast into prison. The duchess began to fear the consequence, and thought it prudent to abstain for a time from making any outward demonstration in favor of the evangelical party.

Anemond and several others found refuge in Basle, where they set on foot a series of operations excellently adapted to the existing wants of France. The works of Luther and his coadjutors were procured, translated into French, printed at Basle, under the superintendence of Anemond, and then forwarded to Farel for distribution. An edition of the New Testament was also published. The same plan was adopted which has proved so successful in our own times. Trust-worthy persons were employed as colporteurs, or pedlars, to

travel from place to place and sell at a cheap rate the Scriptures, books and tracts with which they were supplied. In this manner the south-eastern provinces of France were perpetually traversed, and religious truth widely circulated, in the year 1524, by means of efforts exactly similar to those now conducted by the Bible and Tract Societies of the present age. The benefits realized by thousands would have been still more extensive and lasting, had not Farel committed himself by an act of indiscreet boldness, which necessitated his abandonment of the station where he had been so usefully employed. On St. Anthony's day, January 17, he was crossing the bridge over the river, when he met a procession in honor of the saint, headed by priests, who carried the image and other idolatrous paraphernalia, and chanted the service appointed for the festival. Filled with pious indignation, Farel yielded to the first impulse, seized the image and threw it into the river. In the confusion that followed he contrived to get out of the reach of the enraged multitude ; but his work at Montbelliard was finished.

The disastrous battle of Pavia, Febuary 24, 1525, and the consequent captivity of Francis I. plunged France in distress and consternation. Beda and his colleagues in the Sorbonne availed themselves of the excited state of feeling which prevailed, to stir up afresh the spirit of persecution. " The kingdom was infected with heresy,"

they said; "who could wonder at its misfortunes? was it not the just judgment of God? And did it not become an imperative duty to purge the land of the infection?" Such reasoning accorded too well with the depraved passions of men to be gainsaid. A furious storm was raised. The parliament appointed a commission of inquiry, in many respects resembling the inquisition, and the appointment was sanctioned by the pope. Briçonnet was cited before the commission as an encourager of heretics, and therefore suspected to lean to heresy. He shrunk from the trial. He had not the spirit of martyrdom. Though he saw the truth clearly, he did not love it sufficiently to suffer for its sake. He retracted, submitted, and "built again the things that he destroyed." Lefevre was next sought after; but he escaped, and found refuge in Strasburg, where many others, driven in like manner from their native country, were kindly received. All were not so fortunate. Berquin was cast into prison, and was indebted for his life to Margaret of Navarre, to whose solicitations Francis I. yielded. It was but a short respite. In 1529 Berquin was again seized, condemned, and burned, suffering joyfully for Christ. Shuch, minister of St. Hippolyte, in Lorraine; James Pavanne, who had formerly recanted through fear of death, and whose soul had been pierced with grief from that moment; and a pious hermit, whose name has not been preserved, but

by whose indefatigable labors many persons had been brought to embrace the Gospel, were burned alive, enduring the last agonies in the true spirit of ancient martyrs. Universal distrust and dread prevailed. The spies of the clergy haunted all places. The slightest indication of approval of the doctrines of the Reformation, or of sympathy with the reformers, was sufficient to expose the individual to persecution, which might end in death. For a time truth was silenced in France. It seemed doubtful whether her voice would be heard any more.

It was *the truth* that was thus mercilessly persecuted. The adversaries of the Gospel were not ashamed to confess that the doctrine of grace, as taught by the reformers, was the special object of their hatred. "Let us banish from France," said Beda; "let us banish from France this odious doctrine of grace. Neglect of works of merit is a fatal deceit of the devil." D'Aubigné, iii. 621.

The German reformers labored hard to enlist Francis I. on the side of truth, or at least to persuade him to forbearance towards the Protestants. He temporized for some years, anxious to secure the advantages of the political alliance into which he had entered with the parties to the League of Smalcald. His true character manifested itself in 1534, the *year of placards.* In the night of the 18th of October placards were posted up in the streets of Paris, and of other chief towns of

France, and even on the gates of the royal palace at Blois, exposing in strong terms the doctrines of the real presence and the idolatry of the mass.* Great horror was affected on the occasion: twenty-four persons, well-known as adherents to sacramentarian opinions, were arrested in Paris and thrown into prison; and reports were industriously spread abroad that they were leagued with others in a foul conspiracy against the friends of the ancient system. The most absurd rumors were invented, and the king himself was willingly borne away by the current. He hastened to Paris in the midst of winter, assisted at a public procession that was intended to expiate the guilt brought upon the city by the outrage that had been offered to the holy sacrament, dined afterwards with the archbishop, at whose table he asserted,†

* The style of the placards was certainly very violent; unnecessarily so. The priests were styled "blind sacrificers;" "mockers;" "plagues;" "perverse antichrists;" "ravening wolves;" "thieves;" and "whoremongers." The mass and its accompanying ceremonies were spoken of in the most contemptuous strains, and made the subject of stinging sarcasms, expressed in language too coarse and stringent to be translated. Gerdesii Historia Reform. iv. Monumenta, pp. 60–67.

† He "addressed the assembly in a speech expressive of the acute anguish which he felt at the outrage offered to the King of kings by perverse men, unworthy of the name of men, who had blasphemed the Supreme Being, and publicly outraged the most august of his mysteries, his true body and true blood. While his words were interrupted by the frequent sobs and groans of his

in impassioned language, his determined hostility to the reformers, and spent the evening in witnessing the barbarous execution of six alleged heretics, who were burned in as many different parts of the city.*

After this, the progress of the Reformation in France was for a time slow and secret. Individuals were converted to God in many places, and testified privately against error and idolatry; but no public or united demonstration in favor of Protestantism was made for a considerable period.†

In 1540 a decree was passed by the parliament of Provence, devoting to extermination the town of Merindol, and the surrounding villages, about

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auditors, he urged them in continuation to denounce, without pity, all whom they knew to be heretics. 'Before God!' he exclaimed, 'if my right arm were gangrened, I would cheerfully cut it off and cast it from me; and if my own sons were unhappy enough to be seduced by these detestable novelties, I myself would be the first to furnish proofs of their guilt!'" Smedley's History of the Reformed Religion in France, i. 30.

* "As if the ordinary terrors of the stake were inadequate for the punishment now required, these martyrs, bound to the extremity of long poles, were alternately lowered to and withdrawn from the blazing pile, till the ropes by which they were fastened caught fire, snapped asunder, and plunged their already half-burned limbs into the devouring flame." Smedley, ut sup. p. 31.

† Calvin's Institutes were published in 1536. His eloquent dedication of that great work to Francis I. has been highly and deservedly eulogized; but it made no impression on the bigoted and brutal monarch.

thirty in number, which had been colonized by the Vaudois. This cruel edict was so manifestly unjust that the governor refused to execute it without express orders from the king. The only crime alleged against the unoffending people was their conscientious adherence to Scripture in opposition to Rome. The inquiries instituted by the royal command elicited facts most honorable to the accused parties.* Notwithstanding this, a short respite was all that could be obtained from Francis. If they were not reconciled to the church, the edict must take its course. "I do not burn heretics in France," said the king, "in order that they may be nourished in the Alps." The threatened destruction was however averted for several years. In 1545, D'Oppeda, then governor of the province, executed the decree. The country was wasted by fire and sword; four thousand persons were inhu-

* "The Vaudois," said William de Bellay, governor of Provence, "differ from our communion in many parts of their creed; but they are irreproachable in their morals, laborious, sober, benevolent, and of unshaken loyalty. Agriculture is their pride and sole occupation; and so marvellous is their industry, that, in numerous cases in which landed proprietors have been contented with a small quit-rent, or have granted renewable leases on long terms, estates formerly rated at four crowns per annum have produced three hundred and fifty; the tenants all the while having cheerfully and regularly paid their dues, both to the crown and to the landholder. Hospitality is one of their proverbial virtues, and not a beggar is ever known in their settlements." Smedley ut sup. p. 46.

manly massacred; great numbers were condemned to the galleys for life; and the triumphs of popery were celebrated amidst smoking ruins, by wretches whose hands were reeking with human gore.

Francis I. died March 4, 1547. He continued a savage persecutor to the last. His son and successor, Henry II. though a man of more gentle spirit, was so completely under the influence of the house of Guise, that his reign also was distinguished by its cruelties. On the occasion of his public entry into Paris, in July, 1549, four scaffolds were erected in different public places of the city, where, at night, the blazing piles consumed the hapless victims of popish bigotry. Two years after a furious edict was issued, proscribing the reformers, and enacting regulations designed to clear the land of heresy, and especially to preserve all public offices from its contamination. Nevertheless, the word of God grew and prevailed; the church in France, like the bush which Moses saw, though exposed to fiercest flames, was not consumed.

It was not till the year 1555 that attempts were made to form separate christian societies, or churches, in France. The first of the kind was at Paris, after the presbyterian model of Geneva, having a minister, deacons, and elders. The formation of others in different parts of the kingdom followed soon after.

Two years after the time just specified, when

one of the protestant congregations in Paris was attacked by the mob, it was ascertained that the principles of the Reformation had been embraced by many persons of distinction, including the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligny, and others of noble birth. The king of Navarre frequently attended protestant worship. At a solemn procession of the Reformed, in 1558, the illustrious personages above mentioned assisted, and nearly four thousand faithful followers of the truth made open avowal of the cause on that occasion.

The first national synod of the reformed church in France was held at Paris, in May, 1559. The representatives of eleven churches were present. A confession of faith was framed and published, accompanied by sundry canons of discipline, and decisions on cases of conscience proposed by several of the members. The whole evinced an anxious desire to be solely guided by the word of God.*

Outbreaks of persecution continued to distress the Reformed. An order, issued for the destruction of every house in which a protestant meeting had been held, was mercilessly executed, involved many in ruin, and inflicted unrighteous suffering on great numbers of innocent persons. The martyrdom of Anne Dubourg, a distinguished eccle-

* The reader is referred to Quick's "Synodicon," (Folio, A. D 1692,) for a full account of the Synods of the French church.

siastic, a member of the Parliament of Paris,* and the frightful outrages committed by the populace, who were allowed to rob and murder at their will whomsoever they chose to suspect of Protestantism, spread universal alarm, and widened the breach between the antagonist parties.

In the year 1560 the Protestantism of France assumed a political complexion, and began to be sustained by measures of worldly policy. Two parties were ambitious of directing the national affairs during the minority of the king, Francis II. At the head of the one were the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé, Protestants: at the head of the other, the Guises, fierce Papists. Both parties were nearly related to the king, and might plausibly claim the regency. It was this rivalship that first led to intrigue and violence. Religious differences embittered the enmity, and soon became its chief exciting cause. The accession of royal and noble proselytes tempted the Protestants to have recourse to the appliances of earthly

* December 15, 1559. He had been in prison, and that prison the horrid Bastile, six months. His diet was bread and water; all intercourse with his friends was forbidden; and he was occasionally shut up in an iron cage. When he arrived at the place of execution he briefly addressed the spectators, telling them that he did not die as a malefactor, but as a witness for the truth of the Gospel. His last words were, "Father, abandon me not, neither will I abandon thee!" The friends of the Reformation in France were greatly confirmed in their faith by witnessing his constancy in suffering.

warfare; arguments were soon found to justify the proceedings; and henceforth it is a mixed struggle—truth on one side, and error on the other—fire and sword on both sides. It will be foreign to the purpose of these pages to describe scenes of strife and bloodshed. The progress of the cause of God, and that only, as far as possible, will be narrated.

Various edicts were passed, with a view to put down Protestantism. The measures adopted were very severe. All meetings of the Protestants were prohibited, under penalties similar to those inflicted for high treason, and the cognizance of spiritual offences was transferred from the secular powers to the bishops. Yet the Huguenots, as they were now generally called,* increased in numbers and in influence. Their second national synod was held at Poitiers, in March, 1561, and was numerously attended. Some idea of their growing importance may be formed from the fact, that at that time the church of Orleans maintained

* An ancient gate in Tours had been named after a certain count *Hugo*, whose ghost, it was said, rode through that quarter of the city every night and roughly handled those who were passing at the time. In some vaults near that gate the Reformed held their meetings secretly, for fear of the Papists. Hence they were called *Huguenots*. It was at first a word of mockery, and was afterwards adopted by them as a testimony of their adherence to the reigning family descended from Hugh Capet, and of their opposition to the Guises, who caballed to get the succession into their line.

five ministers, and numbered seven thousand communicants.

The colloquy at Poissy was an event of some consequence, though the results were not so important as had been anticipated. It was a public conference between the popish and the reformed parties, held in the presence of the court, in September, 1561. The protestant cause was admirably sustained by Beza, who, with Peter Martyr, had been brought from Switzerland for the purpose. Ten ministers of the French church and a number of deputies assisted and encouraged them. On the other side were the cardinal of Lorraine, the cardinal of Tournay, thirty-six archbishops and bishops, and a crowd of ecclesiastics of every grade. The reasons for secession from the Romish church were stated by Beza in a powerful discourse, which evidently made a deep impression; but the principal topic of discussion between him and the popish champions was the real presence. Neither party was convinced by it; nor was the colloquy at Poissy productive of any other advantage to Protestantism than this, that France enjoyed for a short time the labors of Beza, who took up his abode at Paris, and preached to large congregations. There also he engaged in a second disputation on the subject of images,* and boldly unveiled the abominations

* A French author, whose work the Sorbonne had recently licensed, had thus falsified the second commandment.

of Romish idolatry in the presence of the assembled court.

These harmless conflicts were soon followed by others of a much more serious kind. The massacre at Vassy was the first of a series of events which provoked a state of feeling that shortly issued in civil war.* For twelve months wholesale butcheries and horrible devastations spread "mourning, lamentation, and wo" throughout the kingdom.† A stop was put to these horrors

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"Thou shalt make a graven image,
"At your choice, of every kind;
"Honor it and pay it homage:
"God in *that* great joy shall find."

Smedley's History, i. 212.

* The massacre at Vassy took place on Lord's day, March 1, 1562. Vassy is a town on the borders of Champagne. A flourishing congregation of Huguenots had been established there. The duke of Guise passed through the town, accompanied by a numerous suite, on the day above mentioned. The Huguenots were then assembling for worship. The duke's retainers first insulted them, and then rushed into the barn which served for a meeting-house, and attacked the unarmed, unoffending congregation, killing some and wounding others; destroying the pulpit, seats, Bibles and other books; and stripping and plundering those who had fallen. Sixty were killed, and more than two hundred wounded.

† Blaise de Montluc, governor of Guyenne, distinguished himself above all others for diabolical cruelty. "This savage, whose reckless perpetration of wholesale butchery obtained for him the distinguished honor of a marshalship of France, has taken pains to blazon the atrocities of which he felt himself proud; and every step in his career of blood has been traced by his own pen

by the treaty of Amboise, signed March 12, 1563,

in autobiographical *commentaries*. No sooner had he received the commission by which he was authorized to ravage his province, than he began to make strict inquisition into the 'strange names' of overseers, deacons, consistories, synods, and conferences; 'food of which kind,' he added, 'none yet had furnished me with a breakfast.' In a similar strain of bitter sportiveness he proceeds to inform us that in the outset he secretly provided himself with two executioners; that, from their constant attendance upon him, they went familiarly by the name of his lacqueys, and that both were completely equipped for their trade, and furnished above all with a very keen-edged axe. Thus esquired, he issued forth on his first adventure, and at St. Mezard he encountered four Huguenots, who were accused of having spoken disrespectfully of the king. Seizing one of them by the throat, and loading him with terms of execration, he dashed him forciby to the ground, when he fell against the stump of a broken cross. Then calling out to the executioner, 'Strike, scoundrel!' it was not easy to tell whether the words or the blow were first ended, and half a foot of the broken cross was cut through at the same time with the neck of the victim. Of the others, two were hanged on the next tree; the last, a deacon but eighteen years of age, received assurance that his life should be spared, but was so severely beaten that he expired ten days afterwards. 'And this,' concludes Montluc triumphantly, 'was my first achievement when I set out from home, without either sentence or writing, for I had heard say that it was wisest to begin with execution.' At Cahors, in one day, 'to make short work,' thirty or 'perhaps forty' Huguenots (so carelessly did he keep account of human life!) were hanged or broken on the wheel. At Gironde, sixty were strung up at once to the colonnade of the Town Hall. At the storming of Montsegur he numbered seven hundred dead bodies in the streets, and rejoiced in the further assurance that a great many other victims had perished by leaping over the walls. At Pene, and afterwards at Lec

conceding to the Protestants a partial and unsatisfactory recognition of their worship.*

Persecution soon re-commenced. By the edict of Roussillon, issued in August, 1564, additional restraints were laid upon the Huguenots. Their ministers were already forbidden to preach within ten leagues of the abode of the court, or to reside in any places except those in which they severally officiated; and no Protestant was allowed to open a school. The edict of Roussillon restricted the liberty formerly granted, to celebrate Divine worship in the residences of the nobility, to their immediate tenants and dependants, levying a heavy fine on other persons who might attend; prohibiting the collection of money on those occasions, for any purposes whatsoever;

toure, he filled up very deep wells with the corpses of the slain; in the latter place the festering piles were heaped so near the mouth that they might be touched by the hand. In both cases he chuckles at the remembrance, 'that it was an excellent method of disposing of those naughty boys.' But the consummation of his brutal delight was reserved for Toulouse, in which city, as he records with overflowing satisfaction, he 'saw more heads fly than ever he had seen before!'" Smedley, i. 238–240.

* That the reformed church of France survived the repeated horrors through which she passed, can only be ascribed to the interposing care of a gracious Providence. We are reminded of the memorable words of Beza, addressed to the king of Navarre: "Sire, it belongs in truth to the church of God, in the name of which I address you, to *suffer* blows, not to *strike* them. But, at the same time, let it be your pleasure to remember that THE CHURCH IS AN ANVIL WHICH HAS WORN OUT MANY A HAMMER."

and commanded all who had renounced the monastic state and married, to return to the cloister, or quit the kingdom within two months. The operation of this edict was extremely galling to the Huguenots.

Catherine, the queen dowager, cherished relentless hatred of the Protestants, and spared no pains to compass their ruin. She had no scruples about the means. Intrigue, treachery, open violence, all were alike to her. She would smile and flatter one day, and coolly direct a massacre the next. Under the conviction that she was meditating some dark deeds of cruelty, the Huguenots took up arms again in the autumn of 1567. The second civil war was of short continuance: it was terminated by the treaty of Longjumeau, March 23, 1568. But peace was more fatal than war. On a sudden the fire of frantic zeal broke out in every part of the kingdom. The pulpits resounded with furious invectives against heretics; the Jesuits exerted themselves to the utmost in fanning the flame; and, in consequence, many more perished by assassination than in battle. It was computed that no fewer than ten thousand Huguenots were murdered within three months after the treaty of Longjumeau.

It was a treacherous peace, and could not be lasting. The third civil war began before the end of the year. It was more disastrous than the preceding. At the battle of Jarnac, March 13, 1569,

the prince of Condé was killed.* Henry, the young prince of Bearne, son of the queen of Navarre, succeeded him as protector of the Huguenots. In the following October their power was much broken by the battle of Moncontour, in which they were defeated with great loss. Yet they recover ed themselves, and were soon enabled to take offensive measures. Such success attended their operations, that peace was felt to be desirable, and the treaty of St. Germain was signed, August 15, 1570. By this treaty the Huguenots gained some important advantages. Their worship was still subjected to many restrictions; but the universities, schools and hospitals were thrown open to them; and they were declared capable of holding all dignities and public offices.

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* Pope Pius V. evinced extravagant joy on this occasion. Writing to the king, he said, "Raising my hands to heaven, I gave thanks to the Almighty with all lowliness of heart, for that he had vouchsafed you success, and had graciously poured out upon us also the riches of his loving-kindness. But in proportion as God has dealt thus mercifully, so ought you with greater diligence and strenuousness to employ this opportunity, that you may follow up and destroy the remnant of the enemy; that you may *utterly extirpate all the roots, and even the offsets from the roots,* of that so great and so confirmed an evil." In another letter, written a fortnight afterwards, the pope further urges this duty of extermination, and stimulates the king, by a "fatherly admonition," to be "deaf to every prayer," to "reject every claim of consanguinity and kindred," and to be "inexorable to every voice which may dare to petition" for the poor Huguenots! Smedley, i. 328–330.

SECTION II.

FROM THE PEACE OF ST. GERMAIN TO THE EDICT OF NANTES.

At the seventh national synod of the reformed church, held at Rochelle in the spring of 1571, under the presidency of Beza, who was invited from Geneva for that purpose, the confession of faith, published in 1559, was confirmed, with some slight amendments, and the doctrines of Socinus and his followers condemned. There were present the queen of Navarre, the prince her son, the young prince of Condé, the count of Nassau, Coligny, admiral of France, and a large number of the nobility and gentry who had em braced the principles of the Reformation. The number of Huguenot churches in France was then 2150, and many of them had two or more ministers.

Foiled in their attempts to put down Protestantism by open violence or honorable warfare, the Papists had recourse to treachery. The massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572, so far from being an unforeseen accident, as it is sometimes studiously misrepresented, was the result of a deep-laid plot. Catherine and the young king Charles IX. planned the whole. The object was to get the protestant chiefs and their immediate connections and dependents into the power of the Ro-

manists, that they might be cut off at one stroke, and the whole body, thus deprived of leaders, lie at the mercy of their foes. In order to accomplish this, a marriage was proposed between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois, the king's sister. It was pretended that this alliance would remove ancient enmities, unite the opposing parties, and produce lasting peace; but the real design has been already mentioned. The pope strongly remonstrated, both on account of the consanguinity of the prince and princess, and the difference of religion. In reply to his remonstrance, Charles did not hesitate to say that he had adopted this plan as the only one by which he could get his enemies (meaning the Huguenots) into his power. "You may assure his holiness," said the king to cardinal Alessandrino, "as the event will prove, *that my only object in concluding this marriage is to avenge myself on God's enemies and to chastise those great rebels.*" Smedley, i. 359.

The marriage was celebrated on the 18th of August, 1572. So earnest and apparently sincere were the king's protestations of friendship, that the Huguenots were for the most part entirely deceived. Their principal nobility and gentry repaired to Paris, to grace the train of the king of Navarre and share in the festivities of the joyful occasion. They were received at court in the most gracious manner, and flattering attentions were lavished upon them. The king was pecu-

liarly condescending to Coligny: he frequently invited him to the palace, and consulted him on affairs of state. It is not surprising, therefore, that suspicions and fears were completely lulled. When some temporary excitement was produced by the entry of additional troops into Paris, the king succeeded in persuading the admiral and his friends that he feared the machinations of the Guises, and was determined to put himself in a posture of defence; for which purpose he had increased the military force in the capital. This explanation was received as perfectly satisfactory, and the soldiers were distributed in different parts of the city, ready to do the work of assassins as soon as orders should be issued.

On the 21st of August, as the admiral was returning from the palace, where he had had an audience with the king, he was fired at by one Maurevel, a miscreant employed for the murderous intent by the queen-mother and the duke D'Angouleme. Two bullets struck him; one lodged in his left arm, and the other shattered a finger of his right hand, which it was found necessary to amputate immediately. Yet even then the alarms of the Huguenots were quelled by the villanous hypocrisy of the king. He affected the deepest concern and indignation, and visited the admiral, to tender in person his sympathy; assured him of his faithful regard to the many promises which he had before lavished upon him, and declared his

resolve to inflict the severest vengeance on the assassin, wherever he should be found. The sufferer was soothed. The rising apprehensions of the protestant party were too easily allayed; and while the victims were thus deceived into fatal reliance on the royal word, preparations were secretly going on in every part of Paris for the horrible butcheries of St. Bartholomew's day.

At midnight the tocsin sounded, which was the preconcerted signal for the commencement of the work of blood. The admiral's apartments were forced by a band of assassins, by whom he was quickly despatched, and his dead body thrown out of the window into the court-yard below, in obedience to the commands of the duke of Guise, who would not be satisfied without ocular demonstration of his death. The Huguenots residing at the time in the palace and its neighborhood were next searched out, and murdered in the most barbarous manner. It was soon made known throughout the city that the whole party was proscribed, and that they might be slain with impunity. The blood-thirsty eagerly rushed forth upon their prey. House after house was ransacked. Refuge or concealment was vainly sought. The public places were covered with dead bodies, stripped of their clothes, and gashed with wounds. Blood ran down the streets like water. The river was almost choked with human carcasses, which being carried down the stream to the provinces,

occasioned at first a belief that a destructive battle had been fought. Upwards of two thousand were slain in Paris on the first day, at the close of which the young king, accompanied by the queen-mother and the ladies of the court, took a walk in the precincts of the palace, that they might glut their eyes with the spectacle of murdered Protestants, and triumph in the success of their diabolical treachery!

Instructions were sent to the authorities in every part of the kingdom to follow the example of Paris, and rid themselves of the Protestants by indiscriminate slaughter. Those instructions were obeyed. Men, women and children were inhumanly massacred. Some were drowned; some were shot; some were stabbed; some had their throats cut; some were hacked to pieces with swords or halberds. The number of the victims has been variously estimated. The lowest calculation is 30,000; the highest, (they are both given by Romanist historians, De Thou and Perefixe,) 100,000. The latter is probably nearest the truth, as it is stated on good authority that ten thousand persons perished in Paris alone. In fact, very few Protestants then escaped.*

In his first despatches to the provincial gover-

* The marshal de Tavannes, with several others, rode from street to street, calling upon the people to kill the Huguenots, and telling them that such was the command of the king, whose

nors the king stated that a tumult had arisen in the city, in consequence of a quarrel between the two rival factions, and that the Guises, having the upper hand, were wreaking their vengeance on the other party, while he strove in vain to quell their rage. This was too barefaced a lie to be persevered in. It was well known that the massacre had been premeditated, and that the king had taken part in the work of death. Another story was therefore invented. The parliament of Paris was assembled, and in their presence the king asserted that the Huguenots, headed by the admiral, had entered into a conspiracy to kill him, his mother, his brothers, the Guises, and other distinguished individuals, and thus to place the kingdom at their own disposal; and that he had been compelled to order the massacre to save his own life, and deliver the nation from the dangers that threatened it. Such was the explanation trans-

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wish it was that not a single heretic should escape. "Bleed! bleed!" exclaimed the ruffian: "bleeding is as good in the month of August as in the month of May!"

A gold wire-drawer, named Crucé, boasted that he had himself slaughtered four hundred persons during the massacre.

The king not only joined his mother in contriving the bloody plot, but encouraged the soldiers while they were engaged in the massacre, and even fired on the hapless victims with his own hands. He stood at a window of the Hotel de Bourbon, receiving the guns from his attendants and discharging them as fast as they could be loaded.

mitted to foreign courts. But it was impossible to disguise the actual truth. Protestant governments received the account with undissembled indignation and disbelief. Popish states were frantic with joy.

All was exultation at Rome. The cardinal of Lorraine gave a thousand pieces of gold to the messenger who brought the news. "The pope and cardinals proceeded at once, from the conclave in which the king's despatches had been read, to offer thanks before the altar for the great blessing which Heaven had vouchsafed to the Romish see and to all Christendom. Salvoes of artillery thundered at nightfall from the rampart of St. Angelo, the streets were illuminated, and no victory ever achieved by the arms of the pontificate elicited more tokens of festivity. The pope, also, as if resolved that an indestructible evidence of the perversion of moral feeling which fanaticism naturally generates should be transmitted to posterity, gave orders for the execution of a commemorative medal. He had already been anticipated in Paris; and the effigies of Gregory XIII. and of Charles IX. may still be seen in numismatic cabinets, connected with triumphant legends and symbolical devices illustrative of the massacre." Smedley, ii. 35.

Terrible as was the blow, the power of the Huguenots was not entirely broken. The remnant flew to arms, and occupied some strongly fortified places, the reduction of which (or the at-

tempt to reduce them, for Rochelle successfully resisted,) cost an immense amount of blood and treasure. This was the fourth civil war. Peace was restored in July, 1573.

Charles IX. died May 30, 1574. Rivers of blood had been shed by his command: it pleased God that the disorder which caused his own death should drain the blood from his body, and that he should endure the most exquisite tortures. His short slumbers were disturbed by frightful dreams. The horrors of St. Bartholomew's day were almost constantly present to his memory, and excited the most racking anguish. He died a victim to remorse and despair. "A few days before he breathed his last, we are told, that summoning his physicians long after midnight, he complained that he was 'most horribly and cruelly tortured;' and received a distressing assurance in return, that their art had been exhausted in unavailing endeavors to procure his relief. Then, as his favorite nurse stood by his bedside, he addressed her in a violent burst of despair: 'What blood! what murder! How evil are the counsels that I have followed! O my God, pardon and pity me! I know not where I am, so grievous is my agony and perplexity. What will be the end of it? What will become of me? I am lost forever!'" Smedley, ii. 104.

Henry III. who succeeded Charles, was a weak-minded, effeminate and superstitious prince. His reign was a series of mistakes and disasters. The

most important of the time, was the establishment of the League by the partizans of Rome. By the peace of Valery, concluded April 21, 1576, the Huguenots had obtained far more favorable terms than they had hitherto secured. Free exercise of worship was permitted in every town throughout the kingdom, Paris excepted; books were allowed to be published by the Huguenots, churches erected, schools opened, and marriages celebrated; several towns were given up to them; and all posts of honor and profit in the state were declared open to eligible candidates irrespective of their religious peculiarities. The Papists, headed by the Guises, were indignant at these concessions. Numerous associations were formed by zealous individuals, who mutually engaged to exert their utmost endeavors to secure the uncontrolled supremacy of the Romish faith, and suppress all error and heresy, meaning thereby the reformed religion. The duke of Guise resolved to unite these scattered associations into one body, which should extend its ramifications throughout the kingdom, and bring into action all the energy and bigotry of party zeal. He accomplished his object. In a short time the League reckoned among its members nearly the whole of the nobility and gentry of France, of the Romish persuasion, with a large proportion of the inhabitants. It became the ruling power of the kingdom. Even the king was not ashamed to descend from his proper

station as the father of his people, and to put himself at the head of a faction. He was declared chief of the League, but was in reality its puppet, while his high office made him responsible for the miseries which the anomalous association inflicted upon France.

The reign of Henry III. was a succession of conflicts and negotiations with the Huguenots. It was a period of great suffering and enormous wickedness. The wars of the league blasted the country with the curse of intolerance, and entailed untold miseries upon all parties. After the assassination of Henry III. August 1, 1589, the strife became fiercer than ever. The king of Navarre was the legitimate heir to the throne, and was acknowledged by his own party and many others. The Huguenots were now no more a persecuted body: their chief men were intrusted with important offices of state, and the laws against them were not enforced. But the League set up the cardinal of Bourbon as a pretender to the throne, under the title of Charles X. His early death, May 9, 1590, somewhat disconcerted their projects; yet they vigorously persevered in their opposition to a heretic king; and the sanguinary contest continued, desolating the country in every part. At length Henry IV. unwilling to hold the throne by so precarious a tenure, and convinced of the hopelessness of the attempt to secure undisturbed possession, or put an end to the civil war while he remained

a Protestant, consented to receive instruction from the Romish priesthood, which quickly issued in a declaration of adherence to their faith. He abjured Protestantism, July 25, 1593, but did not receive the pope's absolution till three years afterwards. The conditions on which that imaginary benefit was bestowed were sufficiently hard. The king was to attend a private mass every day, and a conventual mass on Sundays and festivals; to repeat the litanies on Wednesdays, the rosary of the Virgin on Saturdays, and her chaplet daily; to fast on Fridays; and to confess and communicate publicly at least four times in the year. Besides all this, he was enjoined to prefer Papists to Huguenots in appointments to state offices; to restore all ecclesiastical property which had been seized by the Reformed; to enforce the reception of the Council of Trent; and to re-establish the Jesuits in France. Smedley iii. 33.

Though the Huguenots had gained much by the accession of Henry IV. and open persecution was at an end, they were still subjected to many petty annoyances, and felt that they had not attained that standing in the kingdom to which they were justly entitled. They presented their claims to the notice of the king in the form of a free remonstrance, and received in return the celebrated edict of Nantes, the charter of the French reformed church, April 7, 1598; registered by the parliament of Paris, February 25, 1599 Under the

protection of this edict they enjoyed religious freedom, and worshipped God according to their consciences, with very little restraint. They were excused from the observance of Romish holidays and festivals. Schools, hospitals, charitable institutions, state offices and honors were open to them as well as to the Romanists; and special arrangements were made for the impartial settlement of all suits at law in which they were concerned. The entire edict is published by Quick, in his "Synodicon."

It has been computed that, besides those who perished in the wars, no fewer than two hundred thousand persons suffered death in France for the sake of religion, between the years 1555 and 1598. Nevertheless, there still remained seven hundred and sixty churches, some of them large and wealthy.

Here our narrative must close. The history of the Edict of Nantes and of its revocation by Louis XIV. October 8, 1685, belongs to a period not to be included in these pages. Whoever desires to obtain correct views of the spirit and influence of Popery will do well to study closely the history of Protestantism in France. But the devout christian will regret the worldly character of the conflict in that country. When the Protestants had recourse to arms, and engaged in civil war, they inflicted immense injury on the cause of truth.

Methodist Historical Society Southern California - Arizona Conference

CHAPTER VIII.

History of the Reformation in Poland.

Gospel truth was known in Poland long before the rise of Luther. Christianity had been introduced into that country in the tenth century. For several hundred years the national language was used in public worship. This was a concession to which the popes were compelled to agree, though very reluctantly. The practice had prevailed prior to the connection of the Polish church with Rome, and the Poles were unwilling to surrender so valuable a privilege. It was enjoyed till the fourteenth century, and proved highly conducive to the spiritual advantage of the population.

In the twelfth century many Waldensian teachers settled in Bohemia and Moravia. Some of them penetrated as far as Poland, and scattered the seeds of the Gospel with that quiet diligence for which they were distinguished. Three hundred years afterwards, the followers of John Huss found the soil ready prepared for their efforts. Strong measures were adopted to prevent the introduction of Bohemian itinerants, whose simple and affectionate modes of communicating religious truths secured the attention and won the regards of the people.

Their efforts were not unsuccessful. About the

year 1449. Andreas Galka Dobszynski expounded the works of Wiclif in the university of Cracow, and wrote a hymn in honor of the English reformer.* His boldness was in advance of the

* The following is a translation of the hymn:

"Ye Poles, Germans, and all nations! Wicliff speaks the truth! Heathendom and Christendom had never a greater man than he, and never will have one.

"Whoever wishes to know himself, let him approach Wicliff; whoever will enter the ways which he has pointed out will never leave them, and never will err.

"He has unveiled Divine wisdom, human knowledge, and things that were hidden to philosophers.

"He has written by inspiration about the ecclesiastical dignity, the sanctity of the church, the Italian antichrist, and the wickedness of the popes.

"Ye priests of Christ, who were called in by Christ, follow Wicliff.

"The imperial popes are antichrists; their power is derived from the antichrist—from imperial German grants.

"Sylvester, the first pope, took his power from the dragon Constantine, and diffused his venom over all the churches.

"Led by Satan, Sylvester deceived the emperor, and got possession of Rome by fraud.

"We wish for peace—let us pray to God; let us sharpen the swords, and we shall conquer the antichrist. 'Let us strike the antichrist with the sword, but not with one made of iron.' St. Paul says, 'Kill the antichrist with the sword of Christ.'

"Truth is the heritage of Christ. The priests have hidden the truth; they are afraid of it, and they deceive people with fables.

"O Christ! for the sake of thy wounds, send us such priests as may guide us towards the truth, and may bury the antichrist." Krasinski's History of the Reformation in Poland, i. 68.

times. He was obliged to leave Cracow and seek refuge in Silesia.

Although the powers of the church of Rome were not felt in Poland till the twelfth century, such progress had been made, that in 1459, when John Ostrorog, the palatine of Pozuania, proposed some sweeping reforms, there were 576 monasteries, 117 nunneries, 246 seminaries, and 31 abbeys; and it was said that not less than two-thirds of the revenue accruing from land was appropriated to ecclesiastical purposes! Large sums of money were sent annually to Rome, to the great impoverishment of the country. The prelates interfered in the affairs of state and secured the best offices for themselves. The clergy claimed exemption from taxes. All classes groaned under the tyranny of the ecclesiastics.

At synods held in the early part of the sixteenth century, regulations were made for the prevention of the spread of anti-Romanist opinions, for the spirit of inquiry was abroad. Works were published, avowing sentiments entirely opposed to the policy of Rome. One author maintained (this was in 1515) "that the Gospel only was to be believed, and that human ordinances may be dispensed with." Luther's works were widely circulated, and read with great interest. In spite of all endeavors to hinder their introduction into the country, they were imported in large numbers, and the Papists were compelled to have

recourse to the press in self-defence; but they often railed rather than reasoned, and supplied the deficiency of argument by foul abuse. Some suggested the propriety of introducing the inquisition. The craft of Popery was evidently in great danger.

The principles of the Reformation made rapid progress in Polish Prussia. Public opinion was so unequivocally manifested at Dantzic, in the year 1525, that the magistrates yielded to the demands of the people. The monastic buildings were converted into schools and hospitals. The churches were occupied by protestant preachers. Popery was entirely abolished. But the happy change was short-lived. In April, 1526, Sigismund I. king of Poland entered the city with a powerful army, and effected a counter revolution. The popish worship was restored, and the leaders of the late movement were capitally punished; cruel enactments were issued against the friends of evangelical truth, and those who should aid and abet them.

Yet the good leaven continued to work. The acts of the synod of Piotrkow, in 1542, unwittingly betrayed a state of affairs which the clergy should have had the prudence to conceal from the public eye. Parents were prohibited from sending their children to heretical schools. All persons were forbidden to read the works of Luther and Melancthon. The authorities were

ordered to watch the proceedings of booksellers and printers, that suspicious works might be confiscated, and even to search private houses and to seize any protestant publications. The character of these decrees indicated a considerable advance in the right direction.*

A secret society, formed about the same time at Cracow, under the leadership of Francis Zismanini, provincial of the Franciscans, and confessor to the queen, and comprising among its members many men of great learning and high rank, gave a powerful impulse to free inquiry. At the meetings of the society all kinds of questions in divinity were discussed. The tenets of Popery were boldly examined, and their injurious tendencies exposed. The influence of the inquiries on the future lives of the members could not but be great. The ecclesiastics became protestant preachers; the nobles patronized them. But some pushed their speculations beyond legitimate bounds. Human reason was suffered to usurp prerogatives which God has not granted. Rejection of important truths was the result. The foundation of the anti-trinitarian movement, which had its head-

* When the archbishop Laski boasted in the presence of king Sigismund I. of having covered the churchyard of his hereditary town Lask with earth brought from Jerusalem the king said, "You would have done much better by manuring your sandy ground with the rich soil of Proszowica"—a district celebrated for its fertility. Krasinski, i. 134.

quarters for some years in Poland, was laid at Cracow.

Sigismund I. died in 1548. At the time of his death Protestantism had been embraced by a goodly number of persons of all classes, but as yet there was no regular organization. Individuals, convinced of the unscriptural character of Popery, were to be found in most parts of Poland: but the churches generally were in the hands of the Papists; and christian communities, properly so called, did not exist.

More decided changes began to be developed in the early years of the reign of Sigismund Augustus. In 1549, Valenty, rector of Krzczonow, a parish in the diocese of Cracow, married. When summoned to the bishop's court for this offence, he proceeded to the place of hearing attended by so many persons of wealth and influence that the bishop was afraid to persevere in the prosecution. About the same time, Nicholaus Olesnicki, lord of Pinczov, ejected the monks from the convent in his town, pulled down the images in the church, and established protestant worship there, according to the Genevan usage.

These and other events of a similar kind aroused the indignation of the popish clergy. They resolved to adopt violent measures, and to call in the aid of the civil power. At a synod held at Piotrkow, in 1552, Hosius, bishop of Warmia, (afterwards created cardinal, and one of the papal

legates at the Council of Trent,) introduced a new creed, expressed in a few words, which all the clergy were to be required to sign. The king was petitioned to order that it should be signed by all public officers, and by the members of the Polish diet.* It was further resolved to attempt to put down the heretic nobles by force of arms, for which purpose a heavy tax was to be laid upon the clergy. Protestants belonging to the lower classes were to be destroyed by the ordinary methods of persecution.

These blood-thirsty designs could not be fully accomplished. Nicholaus, rector of Kurow, who had preached the Gospel since the year 1550, and established communion in both kinds in his parish, suffered martyrdom. Some few others endured various hardships, and narrowly escaped death. But the free spirit of the Poles revolted against such cruelties. Instead of co-operating with the clergy, or encouraging them, they successfully resisted the persecuting policy; and, in the very same year in which the above-mentioned synod was held, a decree was passed in a national diet, "that the clergy should retain the right of judging heresy, without any power of inflicting civil

* The substance of the popish creed was contained in these questions:—"Dost thou believe in the efficacy of holy water, prayers to the saints, and the consecration of herbs? Dost thou believe in purgatory, the pope, the mass, fasts, vows and celibacy?"

or criminal penalties on the condemned persons;" thus taking out of their hands the temporal sword, which they had hitherto used with utter recklessness.*

Details respecting the advancement of Protestantism in Poland cannot be easily furnished. When the Jesuits obtained the ascendancy, all records that could be seized for the purpose were destroyed;† and the result is, that little remains besides those formal public documents, which, however useful and even necessary to the historian, render him scarcely any aid in weaving an interesting narrative. We know that for many years popery was on the decline. A large number of nobles abandoned Romish principles, and introduced evangelical preachers to the towns and districts under their rule. Some embraced Lutheranism. Others adhered to the Helvetic confession. A third party sided with the Bohemians. It was computed that two thousand churches were

* When mass was performed at the opening of the diet, many of the members turned away their heads during the elevation of the host. One of them, who stood near the king, remained covered during the ceremony.

† "The Jesuits invariably exacted from the families which had relapsed into Romanism the surrender of all books and documents connected in any way with their former persuasion, and which they always committed to the flames. They even purchased at a high price similar documents whenever they could get them, in order to devote them equally to destruction." Krasinski, Preface, p. xiii.

converted to protestant uses. May it not be believed that very many souls were converted to God?

Among the eminent men to whom the Reformation in Poland was deeply indebted, Andreas Modrzewski holds a distinguished place. Though he was not actually connected with any of the protestant confessions, he was a bold advocate of their principles. As secretary to king Sigismund Augustus, he was employed in important affairs of state, and represented his sovereign at several foreign courts. By his numerous writings, composed with much learning and eloquence, he sought to enlist the upper classes in the cause of reform. When the Council of Trent was about to assemble the second time, he laid before the king a remarkable document, in which he enumerated the changes desirable to be made in ecclesiastical affairs, and urged the sovereign to demand them of the pope. His views were warmly seconded; a letter was sent to pope Paul IV. in the name of the diet, requiring for Poland the following concessions, namely:—1. The celebration of mass in the national language. 2. The communion in both kinds. 3. The marriage of priests. 4. The abolition of the annates (or tithes.) 5. The convocation of a national council, for the further reform of abuses and the union of the different sects. The efforts of such a man could not but exert a powerful influence in favor of religious truth and freedom.

But John Laski, if not a greater man, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, was better qualified, by sound judgment and ardent piety, to direct the movements of the friends of the Reformation. He was a member of a noble family, destined to the clerical life from his childhood. Having received the best education which Poland could supply, he visited Germany, Italy, Switzerland, France and Belgium, and became acquainted with the most eminent scholars of the age. Erasmus was particularly attached to him. Laski purchased his library, and then liberally allowed him the use of it during his lifetime. Returning to Poland in 1526, he obtained important offices in the church, and in 1529 was created bishop of Vespien in Hungary. But the impressions he had received in conference with the reformers, particularly with Zuinglius, were too deep to be effaced. For some time he hoped that the changes which he saw to be necessary to the purity of the church would be effected in Poland; but when that hope failed, he did not "confer with flesh and blood." Judging that he would have better opportunities of promoting the Reformation abroad than at home, he left Poland in 1537. On his arrival in Germany he publicly avowed Protestantism, and married. In compliance with the urgent request of Anna, princess of East Friesland, he settled at Emden, the capital of that country, in 1543, and continued there six years, superintending the in-

troduction and establishment of Protestantism, in which he was happily successful. During that time he was in constant correspondence with the principal reformers, by whom he was held in high esteem. Archbishop Cranmer having invited him to England to assist in the settlement of the English Reformation, he became, in 1550, superintendent of the foreign Protestants resident in London, and rendered valuable service to the archbishop and his coadjutors, who gladly availed themselves of his judicious advice. On the accession of Mary he left England, and lived some time at Frankfort on the Maine. In 1556 he returned to Poland, and spent the remainder of his life in unremitting endeavors to advance the Reformation in his own country, and effect the union of the three confessions. He was intrusted with the superintendence of all the reformed churches in Little Poland. His learning, piety and zeal contributed greatly to the success of Protestantism. Worn out with continuous toil, he expired, January 8, 1560, aged sixty-one, deservedly lamented by all who loved the truth.

In 1555, the pope sent Aloysius Lippomani as his legate, into Poland, avowedly to check the progress of Protestantism. He was the bearer of a letter to the king, in which his holiness severely reproached Sigismund for his lenity to the heretics, commanded him to restore Romanism to its former power and pre-eminence, and threaten-

ed him with the fiercest vengeance of the apostolic see, in case of neglect or refusal. The legate was a faithful representative of his master's views and wishes. He urged the king to cut off the protestant leaders at once. But Sigismund was neither able nor inclined to adopt such a measure. Lippomani, however, rendered good service to Popery in Poland, though he failed to accomplish the great object of his mission. He quickened the zeal of the Romish clergy, and persuaded them to renounce the spirit of concession which they had begun to manifest. He endeavored also to alienate some of the protestant nobles from the cause in which they were engaged; but he was defeated.

Commendoni, Lippomani's successor, pursued a similar policy. The arts of intrigue and stratagem were always in requisition; and the Polish bishops, under his tuition, became adepts in ecclesiastical cunning. A proof of this was afforded by a proposal they made to the Protestants in 1566. They offered to admit the Scriptures as the only unerring foundation of faith, on condition that they should be expounded in the sense authorized by Ambrose, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine. But when they were asked in what sense the writings of those fathers were to be understood, they confessed that they could only allow the interpretation which the Roman church had already authorized. Scripture was to be the

rule—Scripture as expounded by the fathers—by the fathers, as interpreted by Rome!

The division of the Protestants into three classes—the Lutherans, the Reformed, and the Bohemians—had been long deplored; it was regarded by many as injurious to the cause of evangelical religion. Too frequently those energies were exhausted in mutual contentions, which ought to have been employed against the common foe. Various attempts were made to unite all parties in one brotherhood; but the Lutherans refused to co-operate. At length they gave way. At a meeting held at Sandomir in 1570, the union, called "the Consent of Sandomir" was established. The three confessions acknowledged each other as orthodox; intercommunion between their congregations was permitted; and they agreed to form a confederation for mutual support and defence.

The Romanists, finding it useless to attempt to crush Protestantism, consented at last to cease for a while from opposition. By the confederation of 1573, established at a diet held at Warsaw, perfect equality of rights and privileges was ensured to all religious professions. This was declared to be a fundamental law of Poland.*

* At the coronation of Henry of Valois, the king, instigated by the Romish prelates, hesitated to take an oath to observe the confederation of 1573; Firby, grand marshal of Poland, instantly stopped the proceedings. "If you will not swear," said he, "you shall not reign!" The king submitted.

But causes of decline were already in operation. One of these was the rise of Socinianism. Some of the members of the secret society of Cracow having embraced anti-trinitarian sentiments, abundant controversy followed. The numbers of the party continued to increase till it assumed a truly formidable appearance, and some of the leading men of the country had joined its ranks. This was a heavy blow to evangelical truth. The Protestants were divided and weakened. The evangelical confessions were reproached, however unjustly, for encouraging opinions directly subversive of the distinguishing truths of christianity. Socinianism is justly reckoned among those "profane and vain babblings," which "increase unto more ungodliness," and "eat as doth a canker."

A still more powerful antagonist was brougnt into the field by cardinal Hosius. Perceiving, on his return from Trent, the imminent danger to which Popery was exposed, he resolved to introduce the order of Jesuits, as the most effectual counteractive of the impending mischief. A few members of the order arrived in 1564, and settled in his diocese. They were followed by many more, particularly after the death of Sigismund Augustus, in 1572. Gradually gaining the confidence of the most powerful of the nobles, they acquired a commanding influence, both in the church and state, and wielded it in the cause of

Rome They soon took the lead in education, and made it subservient to their purposes, enlisting the enthusiasm of youth on the side of ecclesiastical tyranny and imposture. Spurred on by their ceaseless exhortations, the zealous friends of Romanism seized every opportunity to annoy the Protestants. Open deeds of violence soon followed. Actual persecution re-appeared under specious pretexts, and in the forms of strictly legal process. Weak-minded monarchs obeyed the commands of their Jesuit confessors. Protestantism sunk; for it wanted, in Poland, the vigor and elasticity of evangelical godliness, having been, from the beginning, among the upper ranks, more speculative and political than in other European countries. Popery is now dominant. The number of Protestants in Poland is small, and their influence feeble.

CHAPTER IX.

History of the Reformation in England and Ireland.

SECTION I.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

When Henry VIII. came to the throne he was as bigoted a Papist as any king then ruling in Europe. During the first nineteen years of his reign persecution raged furiously. Great numbers were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts for heresy, and variously punished. Some, terrified by the prospect of a cruel death, recanted; but many "endured joyfully the spoiling of their goods," and, in several instances, the barbarous infliction of death by fire. The names of the martyrs of those days will be held in everlasting remembrance, for "the memory of the just is blessed."*

* In 1519 seven persons were burned in one fire at Coventry, for teaching their children and servants the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments in English. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, was a savage persecutor. The register of his diocese for 1521 contains the names of several hundred persons who were sued in the ecclesiastical courts for reading the Scriptures in English, and offences of a similar nature. Four were committed to the flames. In one instance the children of the sufferer were compelled to set fire to the pile!

The king was very zealous. Luther's works, having been brought into England and republished in the English language, proved highly acceptable to the friends of Gospel truth, and equally galling to the clergy. The latter adopted prompt measures for the suppression of the new effort. In obedience to the papal bull, by which the Reformer's books were condemned to the flames, cardinal Wolsey convened a numerous assembly of nobles, prelates, and ecclesiastics of every grade, with whom he repaired in solemn procession to St. Paul's, May 12, 1521, where bishop Fisher preached against heresy. After the service a fire was kindled, and copies of Luther's books, which had been procured for the occasion, were publicly consumed.

Henry himself entered into the lists—a mighty king against a poor monk. Popery found in him a sturdy champion. His book on the seven sacraments,* in reply to Luther, was immoderately praised, as a masterpiece of learning and skill, an unanswerable production. Leo X. was so much pleased with it that he bestowed on the author the title of "Defender of the Faith," (a title which our sovereigns still continue, however inconsistently, to assume,) and granted indulgences to all

* "Assertio septem sacramentorum adversus Martinum Lutherum." It was written in Latin, and was published in 1521. The original manuscript is yet to be seen in the Vatican at Rome.

who should read the book. But Luther cared little for the rank or power of his opponent. He treated him with as much contempt as if he had been the meanest hired scribbler of the age; and, in reply, poured upon the royal production a full stream of bitter and indignant vituperation. Sir Thomas More hastened to take part in the combat; but, if he exceeded Luther in the art of invective, he was immeasurably his inferior in argument. It was easier to bespatter the Reformer with abuse than to disprove his reasonings, or defend superstition against his vigorous and well-directed assaults.

One result of this controversy was the wider diffusion of the doctrines of the Reformation: books and pamphlets, exposing the errors, corruptions, and abuses of the church of Rome, were issued in great numbers, and read with much avidity, producing every where powerful effects.

The most important measure was the translation and printing of the New Testament. John Wiclif's version of the Scriptures had been in existence nearly 150 years; but it was only to be met with in public libraries and the houses of the wealthy: no part of it had been then printed. The honor of first presenting the English with the word of God in their own tongue, by means of the press, was reserved for William Tyndall, a great and good man, to whom, under God, the Reformation was much indebted. As it was then

a perilous thing to print religious books in the vernacular language, and the Scriptures were known to be particularly obnoxious to the clergy, the work was executed on the continent, whither Tyndall had been compelled to retire. The first edition of the New Testament was printed at Wittemberg, in 1525; and the second at Cologne, in the following year. From those places copies were forwarded to Antwerp, whence they were afterwards shipped for England, and consigned to trustworthy persons, by whom they were gradually dispersed throughout the country. Great was the joy of the people at the reception of the precious gift; and great were the sufferings which many were called to endure in consequence. Tonstall, bishop of London, labored hard to suppress the word of God. Under his direction, strict search was made for copies of the interdicted book, great numbers of which were burned at Paul's Cross; imprisonment, heavy fines, or even sharper inflictions, awaited those in whose possession the sacred volume was found.

In 1526, Henry VIII. avowed his doubts respecting the lawfulness of his marriage with Katherine his queen, who had been previously married to his brother Arthur. His desire for male issue was probably the origin of these scruples, which were encouraged, if not excited by Wolsey. Katherine had borne him several children, but one only, Mary, was living; the others

had died in early infancy. Despairing of the accomplishment of his wishes, he resolved to take proceedings for a divorce, on the ground of the unlawfulness of the union with his brother's wife. The papal dispensation had sanctioned the marriage, and the same power he believed could annul it. At first, his attention was directed to the duchess d'Alençon, sister to Francis I. king of France; and afterwards to the princess Renée, daughter of Louis XII. and sister to Claude, the deceased wife of the French king. Ultimately he fixed on the celebrated Anne Boleyn. They were married in January, 1533. In May following, Cranmer, recently consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced sentence, declaring that the marriage with Katherine, being contrary to God's law, had been null and void from the beginning.

It would be foreign to our purpose to detail the negociations, intrigues, contrivances, plots, and counterplots, by which the proceedings respecting the divorce were diversified. They were discreditable to all parties. When Henry had determined on the course he should adopt, he pursued it with unabated perseverance, till that which appeared to begin in principle became a passion, and in the choice of means there was but little regard to propriety or rectitude. On the other hand, the pope shuffled and evaded, promised and broke his word—in short, acted like a pope. If he granted the divorce, he would make the

emperor Charles V. brother to Katherine, his enemy; if he refused it, a permanent breach with England would most probably result. What could he do? He would readily have given permission to the king to have two wives, not questioning his own power to alter the law of God in that respect; see Dan. 7 : 25; 2 Thess. 2 : 4; but as this would not be accepted, he resolved to protract the cause indefinitely, in the hope of wearing out the parties. Henry was not to be overreached in this manner; he took the case into his own hands, and cut the knot which it was so difficult to untie.

During the seven years that elapsed between the commencement and the close of this affair, the Reformation made considerable progress in England, notwithstanding the violence with which the persecution continued to be carried on. Bilney, and other men of God, yielded their lives for the Gospel; severe sufferings were endured by great numbers, both in person and substance.

At the same time God was raising up instruments for his work. Tyndall, who had settled at Antwerp, employed his pen in the cause of truth, and composed tracts and larger works, both controversial and practical, which were eminently serviceable to the Reformation. In the latter years of his life he was assisted by John Rogers, chaplain to the English merchants at Antwerp, a learned and godly man, who afterwards settled in England, was appointed prebendary at St. Paul's

and led the van of the glorious army of martyrs in queen Mary's reign. Latimer was usefully engaged in Wiltshire, where his plain, honest faithfulness and homely eloquence attracted much attention, and prepared the minds of many for ulterior changes. Others were studying for the ministry at the universities, often amidst much contention and fierce struggles between truth and error. Cranmer had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1532.

It cannot be wondered at, that, in the course of the discussion respecting the divorce, the nature and extent of the papal supremacy should become the subject of debate. The popes had greatly endangered their authority by unwarrantable stretches of power and enormous exactions. More money went to Rome every year than was contributed for the support of government.* Incalculable injury was inflicted on the

* It is not easy to calculate the exact amount. Annates, or first fruits, being the presumed amount of one year's income, were remitted to the pope by all ecclesiastics, on their appointments to livings, offices or dioceses. Appeals, dispensations, indulgences, pardons, and mortuaries at the decease of prelates, produced immense sums. A revenue equal to £70,000 per annum in these times was derived from Peter pence, a levy of a penny on every chimney, first granted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, to pope Gregory II. A. D. 626. To these must be added the sums spent by English pilgrims who visited Rome and other holy places on the continent, and the annual incomes of foreigners holding ecclesiastical preferments in England, and resi-

country by this means. Drained of its treasure, the energies of trade were crippled, general impoverishment spread over the land, and destitution frequently led to frightful excesses. Popery was a burdensome curse on the kingdom. Resistance to its monstrous claims was the dictate of patriotism and benevolence as well as of real piety.

The first blow was the suppression of the payment of annates. In 1532 these payments were transferred from the pope to the king. Two years afterwards the decisive step was taken. Appeals to the pope and remittances of money for bulls, dispensations, &c. had been already forbidden. By an act of parliament, passed March 20, 1534, the king was declared supreme head of the church of England, with full power to correct all abuses, root out all errors and heresies, and exercise all prerogatives in things spiritual, as the popes had done before him. But no change was as yet made in doctrine or worship. Though Henry had thrust out the pope, he was as bigoted a Papist as ever. Early in 1535 he issued a proclamation, adjudging death to all who denied or disputed against the doctrine of transubstantiation, or any other of the doctrines or rites of the church of Rome. The flames of persecution were

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dent abroad, from which source only an amount equal to three times the royal revenue was derived in the reign of Henry III.

relighted, and many suffered in consequence. Others lost their lives for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. These were Papists, who regarded the oath as inconsistent with the spiritual allegiance they gave the pope. Their plea was rejected, and they were doomed to the traitor's death. The most illustrious victims to this cruel and unrighteous policy were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. Their death excited profound regret throughout all Europe.

A large portion of the wealth of the kingdom was attached to the monasteries. The inmates of those establishments were almost to a man strongly prejudiced in favor of the ancient system, and averse to any religious change. They did not conceal the indignant feelings with which they viewed the king's ecclesiastical supremacy. Their influence was great; and it was justly apprehended that they would exert that influence in hindering the further progress of reform, if not in attempting to restore the reign of the pope. In resolving to effect their ruin, Henry was probably influenced by covetous as well as political considerations. He scented a rich prey. Cranmer, and those who acted with him, had other views. They wished to see the revenues of the religious houses devoted to truly religious purposes, from which a large portion of them had been diverted, and particularly counselled the erection of a considerable number of new bishoprics, and the establishment

of educational institutions in connection with the cathedrals; but the rapacity of greedy courtiers prevented the full accomplishment of these plans.

A visitation of the monasteries discovered immense mines of wealth, and brought to light many deeds of darkness, as well as absurd and knavish superstitions. In a few cases, the inhabitants were found to lead honorable and useful lives; those establishments were in some respects beneficial to the neighborhoods in which they were located. But, generally speaking, they were nurseries of ignorance, fraud, and vice: nor can that be wondered at, when it is considered that the monastic vow of celibacy is an act of resistance to the Divine constitution, and necessarily exposes those who take it to temptations against which it is difficult to strive. Had the property possessed by the monasteries been diverted to truly national uses, and thus made subservient to the welfare of the community at large, their suppression would have been regarded as a great blessing to the country. But when so much treasure was turned into private channels, discontent was awakened, and many were induced to suspect that the love of money rather than the love of righteousness had persuaded the king and his advisers to take a step so bold and unprecedented.

By an act of parliament, passed in the early part of 1536, all monasteries, whose yearly income was less than £200, were placed at the disposal of the

king. It was calculated that an addition of about £32,000 a year, equivalent to more than ten times the amount in these days, would thereby accrue to the royal revenue, besides a large quantity of plate and jewels, valued at £100,000. The larger monasteries and abbeys were spared three years longer; but at length they shared the same fate. In 1539 a bill was passed, vesting in the king the property of all existing monastic foundations. By the spring of 1540 they had ceased to exist. In most cases the buildings were stripped of all that was valuable, and in that dismantled state were suffered to go to decay. The lands were given to royal favorites, or purchased, on easy terms, by men who were glad to find a ready method of making their fortunes. Pensions were granted to the abbots, priors, and other officers, and the elder and more deserving of the monks, or church preferment was bestowed on them; an economical but pernicious measure, by which the ignorant and prejudiced people were subjected to the influence of those who would be urged by their exasperated feelings to resist the further progress of truth and reform in every possible way. But a small portion of the proceeds of this wholesale confiscation was appropriated to the service of religion.* It was for the most part rapacious men forcing robbers to give up their prey.

* Six bishoprics were established and endowed—those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester.

At a meeting of the convocation of the clergy in 1536, one Mr. Gwent presented a document in the name of a number of his brethren, complaining of the increase of error and heresy; and specifying, in upwards of fifty particulars, those deviations from the established faith and practice which demanded, in their judgment, instant attention. It is gratifying to observe in the list those protestant principles which we justly hold dear.* The number of their advocates must have been considerable to have attracted the notice of the convocation. But few records of their labors now remain; yet we may be assured that the Divine blessing rested on the endeavors of men who exposed themselves in such a manner to obloquy and violence for the sake of truth.

Fourteen abbeys and priories were converted into cathedral and collegiate churches, with a dean and prebendaries attached to each.

* Among the articles complained of are the following: "That all church ceremonies not expressly warranted in Scripture are human inventions, and for that reason to be laid aside;"—"that, properly speaking, the church consists only of good people;"—"that all monastic distinctions are a plain contradiction to the christian religion;"—"that no reverence ought to be paid to the images of the saints;"—"that auricular confession, absolution and penance are neither necessary nor beneficial;"—"that the saints are not to be honored with invocation," and, "that they understand nothing of our prayers, nor are in a condition to mediate between God and us;"—and "that there is no third place, distinct from heaven and hell, for the punishment of departed spirits." Collier's Ecclesiastical History, ii. 119–121.

Cranmer, Latimer, (who had been created bishop of Worcester,) Shaxton, of Salisbury, and Fox, of Hereford, favored the Reformation, and encouraged all measures tending to further its progress. They were sturdily opposed by Lee, archbishop of York; Gardiner, of Winchester; Stokesley, of London; Tunstall, of Durham; and Clark, of Bath and Wells. Each party was zealous and persevering; but all were kept in check by the king, and compelled to yield to his will. Under his directions, certain articles of religion were drawn up, and signed by the bishops on both sides, and by the principal members of the convocation. They constituted the existing standard of orthodoxy, and were read in the parish churches for the information of the people.

In the following year a work appeared entitled "The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man." It was prepared at the suggestion of Cranmer, to whose memorial on the subject the king responded by appointing a commission, consisting of the two archbishops, several bishops and other learned men. The book was revised and corrected, but not improved by the king himself. The articles above mentioned, and this book, contained Henry's further concessions to the Reformation. They were extremely meagre and unsatisfactory. The essentials of popery were suffered to remain untouched. Men were to believe in transubstantiation and purgatory, to confess their sins to the

priests, to honor images, pray to the saints, and buy masses for the dead. A feeble attempt was indeed made to amend or explain away the superstitious and idolatrous practices of the age, but it left things almost exactly in the same state; for the people at large neither understood nor cared for nice distinctions, and the priests would take no pains to set the matter in a clearer light. As long as it was affirmed that "sprinkling holy water, giving holy bread, bearing candles on Candlemas day, giving ashes on Ash Wednesday, bearing of palms on Palm Sunday, creeping to the cross and kissing it, and offering unto Christ before the same on Good Friday, setting up the sepulchre of Christ, hallowing of the font, and other like exorcisms and benedictions," were "laudable customs"—"not to be contemned and cast away, but continued, to put us in remembrance of spiritual things"—they would be assiduously observed, and no heed would be given to any preventive check in the shape of cautions or explications.*

The martyrdom of William Tyndall, at Antwerp, in September, 1536, was deeply disgraceful

* Strype's Life of Cranmer, pp. 41–44. Edit. 1694. The book was published in 1537. In 1543 a revised and enlarged edition was issued, not improved, but made more popish than before. It was then entitled. "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man." To distinguish it from the former volume, the "Institution," commonly called "The Bishop's Book," it went by the name of "The King's Book."

to all parties, especially to Henry, by whose interference (he was urged to it by the persecuting malice of Sir Thomas More) the reformer had been betrayed into the hands of his enemies and immured in prison, where he remained a year and a half. During the time he was repeatedly examined by the emperor's officials. His piety and learning were undoubted; even the imperial procurator confessed that he was "a very learned, pious and good man." But he had committed the unpardonable sin of translating and publishing the word of God. He also exposed the errors and abominations of Rome in a style of bold, impassioned, and pungent eloquence. As soon as he was within the grasp of the popish authorities his fate was sealed. With his last breath he prayed that the Lord would "open the king of England's eyes." The guilt of his murder rests with Henry and More.*

Notwithstanding the determined opposition of the clergy, the demand for the Scriptures continued to increase. New editions were issued, and readily found purchasers. Coverdale's translation, issued at Zurich in 1535, received the royal sanction, and was ordered to be placed in the parish churches. The backwardness of the ecclesiastics

* Tyndall's version of the New Testament was re-published in London in 1836. An interesting memoir is prefixed, written by George Offor, Esq. of Hackney, and containing some particulars not before published.

to comply with the order, occasioned its frequent renewal; and Cranmer exerted himself most vigorously in the cause, encouraging the printers, assisting in the further improvement of the work, and interfering with the king to prevent the success of popish machinations. His efforts prevailed so far that, for several years, the people of England enjoyed the privilege of reading the word of God in their own tongue. It is true that the number of those who actually possessed the Scriptures was for some time comparatively small; but many who could not buy could read, and they were frequently employed by their uneducated neighbors, who were accustomed to meet in the churches for the purpose of listening to the oracles of heaven. Bishop Bonner was compelled to place six Bibles in St. Paul's cathedral, for the use of the people. "It was wonderful to see," says Strype, "with what joy this book of God was received, not only among the more learned, and those that were noted for lovers of the Reformation, but generally all England over, among all the vulgar and common people; and with what greediness God's word was read, and what resort to places where the reading of it was. Every body that could, bought the book, or busily read it, or got others to read it to them, if they could not read themselves; and divers more elderly people learned to read on purpose."*

* Life of Cranmer, p. 64. Coverdale's translation of the Bible

In 1538 some progress was made in the removal of superstitions. The number of holydays was abridged, the king having enjoined that during the four law terms, and in harvest, no saints' days should be observed, unless such as were dedicated to the Virgin Mary or the apostles. Many shrines of supposed saints were destroyed, and some abominable trickeries brought to light, by which the ignorant had been hoodwinked and deluded for ages.* Images were directed to be used only for

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has been already mentioned. In 1537 another version was published, commonly called "Matthews's Bible;" it was a revision of Tyndall's and Coverdale's, and its publication was superintended by John Rogers, under the assumed name of "Thomas Matthews." This was followed, in 1539, by the "Great Bible," printed by Grafton and Whitchurch, and another called "Taverner's Bible." Cranmer prefixed a preface to an edition issued in 1540, which was thence called "Cranmer's Bible." Fourteen editions of the Old Testament and eighteen of the New Testament were published during the reign of Henry VIII.

* There was a wonderful crucifix at Bexley, in Kent, which seemed to possess miraculous powers. The head of the image bowed; sometimes its body was bent; the hands and feet were moved, the eyes rolled, the lips opened. All this was done by invisible springs and wires, set in motion by a person concealed for the purpose. There were several others discovered, fitted up with similar contrivances, which were publicly broken at Paul's Cross.

At Hailes Abbey, in Gloucestershire, a glass bottle was exhibited which was said to contain a portion of the blood of our Savior. But no person in a state of mortal sin could see it. Pilgrims flocked thither in great numbers, and after obtaining pardon by liberal payments to the monks for prayers and masses were gratified with a sight of the blood, and returned home satis

memorials of virtue and incentives to devotion, and not to be venerated or adored. Some other regulations of a minor kind were added. The amount of real information was small; but the friends of the Gospel, being opposed in every direction, were thankful for any measure of success, trusting that one advantage would lead to another, and that increased light would reveal the abominations of Rome in all their deformity.*

During the last eight years of Henry's reign very little was done for the advancement of truth. The popish party, headed by Gardiner, regained the ascendancy. It was under their influence that the act of six articles was passed, enforcing belief in transubstantiation, communion in one kind, priestly celibacy, private masses, and auricular confession. On this Latimer resigned his bishopric, and retired into private life. Cranmer retained his post, anxious to hinder a retrograde movement

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fied and happy. The bottle had one side thick and the other thin; and was secretly turned by a person who was hidden behind the altar. The blood of a duck was used, which was renewed every week.

* In 1538 pope Paul III. issued a bull against Henry, summoning him to Rome, to give an account of his actions. Should he refuse to appear, his crown was declared to be forfeited, his kingdom placed under an edict, and his subjects absolved from their allegiance. Disobedience to the decree, would expose the offender, it was profanely said, to the vengeance of Almighty God, and that of his apostles Peter and Paul. The decree *was* disobeyed, but no harm followed.

as far as possible. But he seldom appeared in public. He employed himself, for the most part, in the duties of his office. By appointing faithful men to vacant parishes, he sought to stem the torrent of ignorance and vice. By curbing the insolence of bigoted and headstrong ecclesiastics, (and there were many of that sort in his diocese,*) he prevented much mischief. By seizing those favorable opportunities of gaining the royal ear, which now and then occurred, he obtained some fresh concessions in favor of scriptural knowledge and piety. As late as the year 1544, a proclamation was issued, ordering that two chapters of the English version of the Scriptures should be read in the churches every Lord's day. In the same year some of the prayers were translated, and men were encouraged to offer their requests to God in their own tongue.

These advantages, however, were counterbalanced by many evils. The free use of the word of God by the people themselves was forbidden. An act passed in the beginning of 1543, intended by Cranmer for the advancement of religion, but turned to the contrary by Gardiner and his party, prohibited the reading of the Scriptures by all persons under the rank of a nobleman or gentleman,

* The efforts these men made to ruin the archbishop, and his deliverance from the conspiracy which they formed against him, are narrated by Strype, in his Life of Cranmer, book i. chap. 26, 27.

strictly enjoining all women, except such as belonged to the families of the nobility and gentry, all artificers, apprentices, journeymen, servants, husbandmen, or laborers, to abstain from reading the word of God in English, either to themselves or other persons, privately or openly, on pain of death, if they were thrice convicted of the offence. These prohibitions continued in force throughout the remainder of Henry's reign. Nor was this all. The fires of martyrdom still blazed. Papists, who scrupled to admit the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, were executed as traitors; and Protestants, who denied transubstantiation and other popish tenets, were burned as heretics.

Cranmer himself narrowly escaped. Emboldened by their recent successes, the popish cabal resolved to make an attempt on the primate. An accusation was lodged against him by the Papists in the privy council. They assured the king that Cranmer, "with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with their unsavory doctrine, that three parts of the land were become abominable heretics." Affecting great fear of disturbances and insurrections, as likely to arise from the spread of anti-popish doctrines, under the auspices of so great a man as the archbishop, they requested that he might be committed to the tower, in order to be examined; alleging, as a reason for such a rigorous proceeding, that no one would dare to appear as a witness against him "unless he were

first committed to durance!" The king granted them permission to cite the archbishop before them the next day, and if they found sufficient cause, to send him to the tower. Reflecting afterwards on the probable consequences of this concession, he sent for Cranmer late at night, and told him what had been done. Cranmer respectfully thanked the king for his kindness in giving him timely warning, and said that he would willingly go to the tower for the trial of his doctrine, not doubting that his majesty would secure him an impartial hearing. The king expressed great surprise at his unsuspecting simplicity. "No; not so, my lord," said he: "I have better regard unto you, than to permit your enemies so to overthrow you." Directing him to demand, when brought before the council, that his accusers should be produced, he gave Cranmer a ring, and added, "If they stand with you, without regard of your allegations, and will on no condition condescend to your request, but will needs commit you to the tower, then appeal you from them to our person, and give to them this my ring, by the which they shall well understand that I have taken your cause into my hand from them."

Next morning Cranmer was cited before the council. He was treated in a very disrespectful manner, being allowed to remain in an antichamber among the attendants for nearly an hour, while other business was transacted. This was

reported to the king, who was greatly enraged at it. When the archbishop was at length admitted, he was informed that the council had resolved to commit him to the tower, to abide his trial for heresy. He endeavored to show the injustice of the decision, and demanded to be confronted with his accusers. His objections were overruled, upon which he produced the ring, and appealed to the king in person. They repaired at once to the royal presence. Henry received them in a manner which indicated his displeasure. "I would you should well understand," he said, "that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto God. And therefore, who loveth me will upon that account regard him." Thus was Cranmer delivered. Had it not been for the king's personal interposition, he would have been soon conveyed from the tower to a scaffold or a stake.

Katherine Parr, Henry's last queen, encountered a similar peril, and would have fallen into the snare which Gardiner and his bloodthirsty associates laid for her, had she not received intimation of their designs, and contrived by dexterous management to remove from the king's mind the injurious suspicions which he had been led to entertain.*

* A full and interesting account of the transaction is given in

Henry VIII. died January 28, 1547. He was a Papist and a persecutor to the last. The abolition of papal authority in England was no act of homage to the truth. The pope stood in the way of the accomplishment of Henry's wishes, and was therefore removed. Power and wealth were the king's idols, at whose altars he offered many a bloody sacrifice.

The amount of reformation accomplished by the authority of Henry may be stated in few words. The authority of the pope was utterly abolished. Monasteries and kindred institutions were suppressed.* The Scriptures were translated and printed, set up in churches, and for some years allowed to be freely circulated among the people. Gross superstitions were put down, and creature worship was partially discouraged. Some few prayers were translated into English. The Gospel was preached in some few parishes; but popish doctrine was still taught by the majority of the clergy; nor were the people at large as yet inclined to look with favor upon a system which inculcated humbling and self-denying truths, and stripped religion of the pomp and finery which present such powerful attractions to weak minds.

"The Lollards," published by the Religious Tract Society, pp. 323 327, new edition.

* The institutions included in this suppression were—convents, 645; colleges, 90; chantries and free chapels, 2374; hospitals, 110.

The pope was banished from England, but Popery remained.

Ireland participated in the changes effected in the reign of Henry VIII. In 1536 Robert Brown, who had been provincial of the Augustinians, was appointed archbishop of Dublin. In compliance with the directions he received from England, he engaged very zealously in the work of Reformation, and was particularly active in procuring the removal of images and other relics of superstition from the churches. Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, violently opposed him. He called an assembly of his clergy, and denounced fierce curses against all who should own the king's supremacy in things ecclesiastical. It cannot be denied that the feeling of the Irish people was mostly on his side.

SECTION II.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

No sooner were Cranmer and his friends freed from the restraints laid upon them by Henry VIII. than they set about the work of Reformation in earnest. The young king entered heartily into their views, and encouraged them to take vigorous measures. Some important changes were accomplished in the first year of his reign.

A royal visitation of the dioceses took place

The injunctions given to the commissioners employed for that purpose* showed that sweeping alterations were determined upon. The clergy were directed to "make, or cause to be made, in their churches, and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of a year at the least, wherein they shall freely and sincerely declare the word of God; and in the same exhort their hearers to the works of faith, mercy and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by men's phantasies, besides Scripture, as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles or tapers, to relics or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, or such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them, but contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which of all other things God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminish most his honor and glory." All images that had been abused by pilgrimages, offerings, or incense, were to be taken down and destroyed. Every parish church was to be provided with a copy of the Bible, "of the largest volume," and of Erasmus' Paraphrase on

* They were thirty in number. The kingdom was divided into six districts, to each of which a certain number of commissioners was allotted, and it was so arranged that in every case one of them should be a preacher.

the New Testament. Ecclesiastical persons were admonished to avoid taverns and alehouses, and "at all times (as they shall have leisure) to hear and read somewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themselves in some other honest exercise; and that they always do the things that appertain to honesty, with endeavor to profit the common weal; having always in mind that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be an example to the people to live well and christianly." Every clergyman, "being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity," was enjoined to "provide and have of his own," within three months, the New Testament both in Latin and English, with Erasmus' Paraphrase, "and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other." The epistle and gospel for the day were always to be read in English, and two chapters every Lord's day, one taken from the Old Testament, and one from the New. And it was ordered, that "because through lack of preachers in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continue in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars and curates shall read in their churches every Sunday one of the homilies, which are and shall be set forth for the same purpose by the king's authority." The first book of homilies was prepared and published on this occasion.*

* See bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. pp. 1-13.

The act of the six articles, and several others, whereby new treasons had been created, and the lives of the people placed in the utmost jeopardy, were repealed. Private masses were abolished. Funds invested for superstitious purposes, and especially for the supposed deliverance of deceased persons from purgatory, were confiscated and placed at the king's disposal. Sundry practices, tending to "abominable idolatry" (enumerated in the third part of the homily "of good works") were put down. But the most important innovation was the restoration of communion in both kinds. The people had been long deprived of the cup, and had been taught to worship the bread. The cup was now restored, and the idolatry suppressed. This was most probably the result of Cranmer's altered views. During the reign of Henry VIII. he had been a firm supporter of the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the modified error of consubstantiation. He had even labored, though unsuccessfully, to confute Lambert, who suffered for holding contrary opinions, and to whose sentence of condemnation the archbishop's signature was attached: so powerful was the influence of the bigotry and intolerance he had derived from the church of Rome. The change is commonly ascribed to the efforts of Ridley, who first discovered the absurdity and impious tendencies of the popish notion, and quickly exerted himself to remove from the primate's mind

an error which he saw was fraught with peril to souls. His endeavors succeeded. Cranmer embraced more scriptural views. The Lord's supper was thenceforth administered in a manner far more accordant with apostolic usage.

Such was the progress made in the first year of Edward's reign. Still greater changes followed. In 1548 all images were removed from the churches.* By virtue of a royal commission,

* "There were every where great heats about the removing of images which had been abused to superstition, some affirming and others denying that their images had been so abused. There were in the churches some images of so strange a nature that it could not be denied that they had been abused. Such was the image of the Blessed Trinity, which was to be censed, on the day of the Innocents, by him that was made bishop of the children: this shows it was used on other days, in which it is like it was censed by the bishop where he was present. How this image was made, can only be gathered from the prints that were of it at the time; in which the Father is represented sitting on the one hand as an old man with a triple crown and rays about him, the Son on the other hand as a young man with a crown and rays, and the blessed virgin between them, and the emblem of the Holy Ghost, a dove spread over her head. So it is represented in a fair book of the hours according to the use of Sarum, printed A. D. 1526. The impiety of this did raise horror in most men's minds, when that inconceivable mystery was so grossly expressed. Besides, the taking the virgin into it was done in pursuance to what had been said by some blasphemous friars, of her being assumed into the Trinity. In another edition of these. it is represented by three faces formed in one head. These things had not been set up by any public warrant; but, having been so long in practice, they stood upon the general plea that was for keeping the traditions of the church; for it was

granted to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, sixteen bishops, and six doctors of divinity, for the compilation of a new liturgy in the English language, the various Latin offices used in different parts of the kingdom (for at that time there was no exact uniformity in the celebration of Divine worship) were collected and compared with one another. Such portions were selected as were deemed most suitable, and translated, needful alterations or additions made; and in this way a service-book constructed, which after some opposition was adopted by the parliament, and ordered to be brought into use on Whit Sunday, 1549. This was the severest blow that Popery had received since the death of Henry VIII. The *translation of the prayers into English*, and the adaptation of the service to congregational uses, justly entitling the work to the appellation of "The Book of Common" (that is, united) "Prayer," tended at once to enlighten the public

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said that the promises made to the church were the same in all ages, and that therefore every age of the church had an equal right to them. But for the other images, it was urged against them that they had been all consecrated with such rites and prayers that it was certain they were every one of them superstitious: since it was prayed that they might be so blessed and consecrated, that whosoever worshipped them might, by the saints' prayers and aid, whom they represented, obtain every thing that he desired. So they resolved on an entire removal of all images." Burnet's History of the Reformation, ii. 112. Oxford Edition.

mind. The priest was no more the sole performer. He still continued to lead the devotions of the people, but they were now allowed to share in the service, instead of remaining, as before, mere spectators of his doings; and the whole was carried on in a language which they understood. Some relics of the old system were still retained, which were afterwards further got rid of; it was thought necessary to deal gently with deep-seated prejudices and habits which had existed from time immemorial. An act was also passed, legalizing the marriage of the clergy. This was another advance in favor of right principles. Its beneficial influence could not but be great.

The government found no great difficulty in procuring the enactment of these laws. But it was not so easy to make them palatable to the people. Popery had pandered to sensual habits and low vices. Its pomp and pageantry dazzled the weak-minded. It was a glorious thing to be "arrayed in purple and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls." Rev. 17 : 4. The revellings of saints' days, and other periods of ecclesiastical gatherings, were congenial to the tastes of those who were studiously restrained from aspiring after higher delights. When feasts, and processions, and image-worship were abolished, a large amount of enjoyment was cut off. Added to this, the clergy, though compelled to submit to the new order of things, were generally

disaffected. They longed for the restoration of their former power and authority, and of the amazing influence over the people which superstitious usages gave them. A rebellious rising was the consequence. It originated in Devonshire, and spread into many other counties, but was most violent in the northern and southern parts of the kingdom, and in Norfolk. It was not quelled without the loss of many lives.*

There was opposition in higher quarters. Bonner and Gardiner, so far from sympathizing with the recent proceedings, did not scruple to avow their dissent, and threw every possible hinderance in the way. They were both deprived of their bishoprics; Bonner in 1549, Gardiner in 1551. Heath and Day, who followed their example, shared the same fate. Ridley became bishop of London, and an active agent in the Reformation. Hooper received the bishopric of Gloucester, but did not enter upon his duties for some time, on account of his objections to certain popish habits and oaths which were still retained. He was

* The rebels demanded the re-enactment of the law of the six articles; the restoration of the mass in Latin, and of communion in one kind; the replacing of images in the churches, and the revival of all "old ceremonies used heretofore by our mother, holy church;" the re-establishment of prayers and masses for the souls in purgatory; the suppression of the English version of the Scriptures; the restoration of a portion of the abbey lands; in a word, they clamored for the repeal of the Reformation and the return of Popery.

hardly used on the occasion, being committed to prison, and threatened with worse treatment. The oath by the saints was struck out by the king. A reluctant submission to the vestments was at length extorted from him; and he took possession of his see, where he labored with primitive zeal, and did excellent service in the cause of the Gospel.*

If the harshness which Hooper met with cannot be defended, still less can any justification be offered for other measures, the adoption of which was highly discreditable to the Reformation, and brought much obloquy upon Cranmer and his coadjutors. Observance of the new service was enjoined under severe penalties, (a third offence subjected the party to imprisonment for life,) and resistance or ridicule exposed the offender to similar punishment. But the execution of Joan Bo-

* Hooper found the clergy of the diocese of Gloucester in a deplorable state of ignorance. Among the "injunctions" and "interrogatories" issued on his first visitation, were these: "1. Concerning the commandments; how many commandments—where they are written—whether they can recite them by heart? 2. Concerning the christian faith; what are the articles of the christian faith—whether they can recite them by heart—that they corroborate them by authority of Scripture. 3. Concerning the Lord's prayer; whether they can say the petitions by heart—how they know it to be the Lord's prayer—where it is written?" "Some could say the paternoster in Latin, but not in English. Few could say the ten commandments. Few could prove the articles of faith by Scripture. That was out of their way." Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 217.

cher (commonly called Joan of Kent) and Van Paris, a Dutchman, for alleged heresy, cannot be reprobated in too strong terms. Though their errors were gross and pernicious, no such power of punishment as was exercised in their cases has been granted to any authorities, civil or ecclesiastical. The assumption was a manifest infringement of the inalienable prerogative of the "King of kings;" and the only excuse that can be tendered is that the lesson of persecution had been learned in the school of Rome. It is easier to acquire unchristian tempers and habits than to renounce them.

Cranmer, and the other prelates who acted with him, strove to consolidate the Reformation by diffusing as widely as possible the benefits of scriptural knowledge and sound learning. As vacancies occurred in parishes, they were filled with trustworthy preachers of the Gospel. Bucer, Peter Martyr, Fagius, and other eminent protestant divines were invited over from Germany, and appointed to important posts in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.* Six royal chaplains were appointed, two of whom were always in attendance at court, while four were employed in

* Peter Martyr was appointed professor of theology at Oxford, and Bucer at Cambridge. Fagius was professor of Hebrew in the latter university. But he was not permitted to engage in the work; he was removed by death, Nov. 15, 1549, ten days after his arrival at Cambridge. Bucer died Feb. 28, 1550.

itinerating in those parts of the kingdom where the ignorance and superstition of the people, or the incapacity of the resident priesthood, rendered it desirable that a measure of this kind should be put in force. One of them was the celebrated John Knox, afterwards the chief mover of the Reformation in Scotland. He received his appointment in December, 1551; and labored diligently, with great acceptance and success, till the close of Edward's reign. Northumberland and Durham in the north, and Buckinghamshire and Kent in the south, were the counties chiefly favored with his ministrations. He had preached at Berwick for two years before this appointment, under the sanction of the privy council; and had otherwise greatly assisted the good cause by judicious advice and warm exhortations.

Articles of religion, forty-two in number, were published in 1552. They differ very little from the thirty-nine articles now in use in the church of England. In the same year an amended edition of the Book of Common Prayer was issued. It was enlarged by the addition of some devotional forms, and retrenched by the removal of certain relics of Romish superstition which had been hitherto tolerated. An act was passed, enjoining the universal adoption of this book, and inflicting heavy penalties on those who should be present at any other form of worship than that which was therein prescribed.

A board of commissioners was appointed for the reform of the ecclesiastical laws. Cranmer was at its head. They had completed their work, and were on the point of presenting it for approval, when the king's death frustrated the project, and put a stop for some time to the further reformation of the church.

Edward VI. died July 6, 1553. As much progress was made in religious reform during his reign as could have been reasonably expected, under all the circumstances. The reformers had to contend with immense difficulties. Ambition and covetousness among statesmen, and intolerant prejudices in the prelacy and priesthood, together with general ignorance, all but invincible, seemed to present insurmountable barriers to their progress. We should rather wonder that they accomplished so much, than complain that they did so little.

Had Edward lived a few years longer, the Reformation would have been carried to a much greater extent. There is sufficient evidence of the intentions of the reformers to justify this assertion.* But the premature death of the king (if indeed it be lawful to call that premature which the all-wise providence of God ordains) blighted for a while the hopes of the pious, and interposed an effectual check to all further advance.

* Full information on this point is contained in the first volume of M'Crie's Life of John Knox.

The Reformation made but little real progress in Ireland. The Protestants were few in number, and were exposed to annoyances of every description from the bigoted and furious Papists. The archbishop of Dublin persevered in his useful efforts, introduced the English Common Prayer Book, and exerted himself in the most praiseworthy manner for the promotion of Protestantism. Dowdal, who continued to thwart him, was banished, and the primacy of the Irish church was transferred, for a time, from Armagh to Dublin. John Bale, appointed bishop of Ossory in 1552, was a devoted laborer in the good cause. During the short time that he held the see of Ossory his proceedings resembled those of a primitive bishop. He preached repeatedly, with characteristic plainness, fidelity, and unction; visited every part of his diocese; and endeavored, to the utmost of his power, to convince the people of the folly and peril of Popery. But his good intentions were for the most part defeated. The priesthood resolutely set themselves against him. They were almost to a man ignorant and licentious, and thoroughly superstitious. Their influence over the people was constantly exerted in favor of the old system. Deeds of violence and blood were frequently perpetrated. Goodacre, archbishop of Armagh, was poisoned; and many Protestants were waylaid and murdered in different parts of the country. Bale's life was often in peril. He would have fal-

len a victim to popish rage, after the death of Edward VI. had he not concealed himself from his enemies. At length he effected his escape, and reached the continent in safety. Protestantism was legally established in Ireland, but the hearts of the people were in bondage.

SECTION III.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

Mary was a stern Romanist. The changes made in her brother's reign were entirely repugnant to her wishes, and the treatment she had received in consequence of her inflexible attachment to Popery had soured her temper, and converted dislike into exasperation. Persecution under any form is as impolitic as it is unchristian.

At first Mary assumed the appearance of great moderation. She assured the lord mayor and recorder of London, that "albeit her conscience was stayed in matters of religion, yet she meant graciously not to compel and constrain other men's consciences otherwise than God should put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she was in, through the opening of his word unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers."* But in less than two months after Edward's death the

* Sharon Turner's Modern History of England, iii. 397.

mask was thrown off, and the queen's intentions fully declared. Gardiner, Bonner, and other popish bishops were restored to their sees, and the protestant occupants displaced. A royal proclamation was issued, announcing to the people that Romanism would shortly be re-established. Commendone, the pope's chamberlain, who was in attendance on Dandino, legate at Brussels, visited England in disguise, succeeded in obtaining an interview with the queen, and was the bearer of a message to Rome, assuring his holiness that the restoration of England to the apostolic see would be effected as soon as possible.

Decisive measures were quickly adopted. Parliament met in October, and proceeded at once to the all-important subject of religion. The adherents of Protestantism were so few, that no effectual resistance could be made, the powerful interference of government in the elections having secured an overwhelming majority. The only practical difficulty arose out of the alienation of church property. It was discovered that any attempt to restore it would occasion such heart-burning and discontent as might prove fatal to the project of reconciliation with Rome. The change from Protestantism to Popery was easy enough: too many were prepared for that, or any other change that might advance their worldly interests; but none were willing to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth. Mary was compelled to

yield, though much against her will, and the pope himself found it necessary to forego the claims of the church. But, as far as the crown was concerned, those claims were scrupulously regarded: the queen surrendered all church property that had come into her possession. But her rich and lordly subjects would not loosen their grasp; the lay impropriations created in Henry's reign remained untouched. This adjustment being made, the course of legislation was smooth and rapid. Little more than a month had elapsed from the opening of parliament, when the whole fabric of reform, which had been erected with so much pains by Cranmer and his fellow-laborers, was levelled to the ground.

If the reader should feel surprise at a re-action so sudden and complete, it may be observed that very much of the Reformation under Edward was rather the work of power than the effect of persuasion. The government went before public opinion, and established a religion by force, for which the people were not prepared. The early death of Edward disappointed the hopes of the reformers. They did all they could in the brief space allotted to them; but there was not sufficient time for their principles to become deeply rooted, or extensively prevalent in the kingdom. The clergy in general reluctantly submitted, and hailed with joy the restoration of the old order of things; the people participated in the same feel-

ings. An ignorant and irreligious populace would prefer that mode of profession which gratified their love of splendor and show, and interfered least with their cherished pleasures.

But Mary was not satisfied with re-establishing Popery. She thirsted for the blood of those she deemed heretics. It seemed to her as if little was done till the engines of torture were set in action, and the fires of martyrdom blazed again to consume the bodies of the refractory. She had no confidence in argument and persuasion, unless they were backed by the terror of death. The subject was debated in the privy council shortly after her marriage with Philip; and when in the beginning of November, 1554, it was announced to her that persecuting measures had been resolved on, she returned the following answer in writing: "Touching the punishment of heretics, we thinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the mean time to do justice to such as, by learning, would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used, that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none to be burned without some of the council's presence, and both there and every where good sermons at the same time." Lingard's History of England, vii. 189. This message fixes the

guilt of murder on the queen, and justifies the appellation "bloody" commonly bestowed upon her. She willed the servants of God to be burned; she expressed her pleasure on the subject before the law had been altered to please her; and, with affected piety, she ordered "good sermons to be preached at the time." As though it were possible to prepare "good sermons" in vindication of the horrible barbarity of burning a fellow-creature to death for worshipping God according to his conscience!

Cardinal Pole arrived in London, November 24, 1554. On the 30th of the same month he met the two houses of parliament, received their humble submission and protestations of fidelity to the church, absolved the kingdom, by virtue of his authority as papal legate, from the guilt of the late schism, and restored its fellowship with the holy see. Other proceedings of corresponding character soon followed. Early in January, 1555, an act was passed restoring the papal authority and bringing back the kingdom to the state in which it was before Henry VIII. assumed the headship of the church. The revival of the penal statutes formerly enacted against the Lollards, and which expressly directed that they should be burned, developed the design of the sovereign, and furnished the legate and his minions with full opportunity of glutting their revengeful desires.

They were not slow in availing themselves of

that opportunity. Many of the reformers, it is true, had quitted the realm when danger began to threaten, and thus saved their lives, returning in the next reign to resume their labors. But victims in abundance remained in the power of their enemies. Numbers had been shut up in prison, that they might be ready for the slaughter, and had endured severe handling in their confinement. They were led forth to the stake after mock trials, and suffered joyfully for the truth.

John Rogers had the honor to suffer first in the cause of truth. He was a diligent and faithful preacher of the Gospel. Ridley made him one of the prebendaries of St. Paul's, where he labored during the reign of Edward VI. greatly to the edification of many. On queen Mary's accession he continued preaching and earnestly exhorted the people to remain steadfast in the true faith. For this he was placed in confinement; first in his own house, and afterwards in Newgate. After several examinations and much cruel usage, he suffered in Smithfield, Feb. 4, 1555. On his way to the stake he was met by his wife and children, eleven in number, "ten able to go, and one sucking on her breast. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood, dear as they were to him, could yet nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence and cause of Christ's Gospel."

On the 8th of the same month Lawrence Saunders was burned; and on the following day Dr. Rowland Taylor bore his testimony in the flames.

Hooper was burned at Gloucester.* He endured excruciating torments, being more than three quarters of an hour in the fire, which was lighted three times, the faggots used being green, and the wind high. His last words were, Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus, have mercy

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* Foxe gives an interesting account of Hooper's conduct as a bishop. "He employed his time with such diligence as to be a spectacle (or pattern) to all bishops. So careful was he in his cure, that he left no pains untaken, nor ways unsought, how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually laboring in the same. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, no husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there. Although he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for which, also, he spent his blood; yet there lacked no provision in him to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; so that you could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop like doings abroad. For every where he kept one religion, in one uniform doctrine and integrity; so that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose you had entered into some church or temple. In every corner there was some savor of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly roystering or idleness, no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing could there be heard. As for the revenues of his bishopric, he pursed nothing but bestowed it in hospitality."

upon me; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." The martyrologist adds:—"But when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they were shrunk to the gums; and he knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked with the other, until, by renewing of the fire, his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast with knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit."

Lawrence Saunders preached successively at Fotheringay, Lichfield, and Church Langton in Leicestershire. He was appointed to the living of All Hallows, Bread-street, London, just before queen Mary's accession to the throne. After a sermon in the church of that parish, from 2 Cor. 11:2–4, in which he faithfully warned the people against the corruptions of Popery, he was apprehended and committed to the Marshalsea, where he remained fifteen months. He was burned at Coventry. When he reached the place he fell to the ground and prayed; rising up again, he took in his arms the stake to which he was about to be chained, kissed it, and said, "Welcome, the cross of Christ; welcome, everlasting life." And so he joyously passed into eternity.

Dr. Rowland Taylor was an eminently pious and learned man. Archbishop Cranmer appointed him one of his chaplains, and employed him in

ecclesiastical affairs, for which he was admirably qualified by extensive reading and almost universal knowledge. When the living of Hadleigh, in Suffolk, was presented to him, he went immediately to reside there, and spent his time most diligently in tending the flock committed to his charge.* On the re-establishment of Popery he

* Foxe describes his pastoral deportment in the following words:—"As a good shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his sheep, he gave himself wholly to the study of Holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavoring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, 'Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs; feed my sheep.' This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holyday passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation

"Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek as any child; so that none were so poor but they might resort unto him boldly, as unto their father: neither was his lowliness childish or fearful; but as occasion, time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinful and evil doers, so that none was so rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancor, grudge, or evil will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never sought to do evil to any.

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"To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop: good salt of the earth, savorily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all

was advised to seek safety by flight, as his known zeal in the cause of Reformation would infallibly expose him to danger. But he refused to avail himself of the facilities offered him, and patiently prepared for the worst. He was kept in prison upwards of a year, chiefly in Newgate. On Oldham Common, near Hadleigh, he finished his course, in the presence of an immense multitude, meekly enduring the brutal treatment by which his persecutors sought to embitter his last agonies.*

The work of blood was begun under the direction of Gardiner, who held the office of chancellor. After his death, November 12, 1555, Bonner was the chief agent. It was a congenial employment, bringing into action all the ferocious elements of

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men to imitate and follow. Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward VI."

* In his last will and testament, written three days before his death, he gave the following exhortation to his wife and children:—"I say to my wife and children; the Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me; blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads. I have ever found him more faithful and favorable than any father or husband. Trust ye therefore in him, by the means of our dear Savior Christ's merits; believe, love, fear, and obey him; pray to him, for he hath promised to help. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary. I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent."

nis character. He was never so much at home as when browbeating a faithful witness for the truth, superintending the infliction of punishment or torture, (he was even known to wield the instrument with his own hand,) or passing the sentence which delivered the irreclaimable Protestants to the civil power. Mary had not in all her kingdom a person better fitted for the diabolical undertaking; and the legate found the exercise of his authority quite easy, for Bonner was fully prepared to second the zeal of his royal mistress, and extirpate heretics, root and branch, in obedience to the commands of his spiritual superior.

That cardinal Pole directed the persecution, is an historical fact that cannot be denied. In the constitutions issued by him in his legatine capacity, in 1555, he declared "that all heretics, who held or taught otherwise than the Roman church believed and held, were condemned and anathematized;" and commanded that "all censures and punishments appointed by law or by man against heretics and their defenders, and also against all ordinaries and others who should be negligent in extirpating heresies, should be exacted." In September, the same year, he sent his commission to Oxford to examine and judge Ridley and Latimer, and deliver them over to the secular power to be punished. He presided at the meeting of the convocation of the province of Canterbury, in January, 1558, when two bishops were directed to

inquire into and punish heretical pravity in Oxford and Cambridge, and annually to demand the execution of the statutes for burning heretics. In March following he gave directions to Dr. Harpersfield, his commissary-general, and five others to make inquisition into heresy, and deliver all obstinate heretics to the secular power: fresh burnings were the consequence of this inquisition; three men and two women were consigned to the flames in the last week of the queen's life, the writ for whose execution could not have been issued without his knowledge. As Mary's prime minister and director of her conscience, he was responsible for the murders perpetrated under color of law during her reign. These particulars have been mentioned, because attempts have been made in modern times to whiten Pole's character, and represent him as adverse to the persecuting policy of Rome. Turner, iii. 457. Lingard, vii. 204.

Two hundred and eighty-eight persons glorified God in the fires of martyrdom in less than three years. The list of the sufferers includes bishops, doctors, and clergymen; gentlemen, mechanics, and laborers; men and women. The names of some of the most distinguished, and the dates of their deaths, are given below.*

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* In 1555.

Feb. 4. John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's.
" 8. Lawrence Saunders, vicar of All Hallows.

Some of these deserve more distinct mention. John Bradford, Nicholas Ridley, Hugh Latimer, and Thomas Cranmer are names which are justly held dear by all sincere Protestants.

Feb. 9. John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester.
" " Dr. Rowland Taylor, vicar of Hadleigh.
March 30. Robert Farrar, bishop of St. David's.
May 30. John Cardmaker, prebendary of Wells.
" " John Warne, upholsterer, London.
June 10. Thomas Hawkes, gentleman, Coggeshall.
July 1. John Bradford, prebendary of St. Paul's.
" 22. Dirick Carver, brewer, Lewes.
Sept. 20. Robert Glover, gentleman, Coventry.
Oct. 16. Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London.
" " Hugh Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester.
Dec. 18. John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester.

In 1556.

March 21. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.
April 28. John Mace, apothecary, and five others, Colchester.
May 15. Hugh Laverock, a cripple, and John Aprice, a blind man, Stratford-le-Bow.
June 27. Eleven men and two women, in one fire, Stratford-le-Bow.
July 16. Julius Palmer, schoolmaster, Newbury.
" 17. Catherine Cawches, and two daughters, Guernsey, with an infant, born in the flames.

In 1557.

June 18. Edmund Allin, miller, his wife, and five others, Canterbury.
" 22. Richard Woodman, iron-founder, and nine others Lewes.
Aug. 2. Five men and five women, Colchester.
" " Joyce Lewis, gentlewoman, Lichfield.
Dec. 22. John Rough, minister. Smithfield.

JOHN BRADFORD was a "holy man of God." His early life was spent in the service of the state, in which he might have continued, and obtained wealth and worldly honor, had not the grace of God provided better things for him. Soon after his conversion he entered the university at Cambridge, where he quickly made such progress that he obtained a degree at the end of a year, and a fellowship very soon afterwards. Having been urged by Martin Bucer to enter into the ministry, he received ordination from bishop Ridley, who gave him a prebendal stall in St. Paul's cathedral, and licensed him to preach. "In this preaching office," says John Foxe, "by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he labored, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life." He was appointed one of the six preachers employed by Edward VI. in itinerating in different parts of the kingdom. His labors in that engagement were toilsome and unremitting,

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In 1558.

Jan. Cuthbert Sympson, deacon of a Christian church, Smithfield.

June 27. Roger Holland, tradesman, and five others, Smithfield.

July 10. Richard Yeoman, formerly curate to Dr. Taylor, Norwich.

Nov. 15. *Two days before queen Mary's death.*—Three men and two women, Canterbury.

and his success great. No preacher was so popular, none so beloved and honored. His eminently holy life confirmed the truths which he inculcated, and attracted universal admiration. But the bigoted papists feared and hated him, and resolved to seize the first opportunity to compass his death

Soon after Mary's accession, one Bourne, a priest, preached a violent sermon at Paul's Cross, vilifying the reformers, and speaking contemptuously of the late king. A tumult ensued. Terrified by the threatenings of the people, and fearing that an attempt would be made on his life, (a dagger had already been hurled at him,) Bourne entreated Bradford, who was present, to exert his influence in allaying the irritated feelings of the congregation. Bradford complied with his request, and not only protected the preacher, but in a sermon delivered the same afternoon at Bow Church, sharply reproved the people for their riotous proceedings. But, instead of receiving the thanks of the government for his conduct on that occasion, to which he was justly entitled, he was summoned before the council three days afterwards, August 16, 1553, and committed to the Tower on a charge of seditious conduct! As the people yielded to his persuasions when he exerted himself to allay the tumult, it was most unrighteously argued that they had acted before under his influence. The Papists were glad to avail themselves of any pretence, however iniquitous, for silencing and ruining so good a man.

Foxe gives the following account of Bradford's imprisonment :—" He was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase him liberty of body, till by death, which he suffered for Christ's cause, he obtained the heavenly liberty of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark ; and after his condemnation he was sent to the Compter, in the Poultry, in London ; in the which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him ; where also the Lord's Supper was often ministered, and through his means, the keepers so well did bear with him, such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it, and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from which came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keepers, that at his desire, in an evening, when prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had licence, upon his promise to return again that

night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick, lying by the Steel-Yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned unto his prison again, rather being before his hour than breaking his fidelity; so constant was he in word and in deed."

In addition to the labors already mentioned, Bradford employed himself while in prison in writing letters to his friends in different parts of the country, by which they were abundantly confirmed in the faith, and encouraged to maintain their steadfastness. These letters produced such powerful effects that the earl of Derby affirmed, in his place in parliament, that Bradford "had done more hurt by letters, and by exhorting those that had come to him in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching."

After remaining in prison till January, 1555, Bradford was examined and condemned to be burned. The sentence was not carried into effect till July 1, following. During the interval he was frequently visited by the archbishop of York, Bonner, and other ecclesiastics, with whom he held long disputations. His conversion to Popery would have been a splendid triumph; but the enemies of truth were disappointed. Bradford continued firm, and confounded his adversaries with arguments which they could not gainsay or effectually resist.

An immense concourse of people flocked to witness his execution. They saw him suffer joyfully

for the Lord's sake, and heard him utter words full of peace and joy. "Be of good comfort, brother," he said to John Leaf, an apprentice, who was burned with him, "for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night." Then, embracing the reeds by which they were surrounded, he exclaimed, "Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it." In less than an hour afterwards he had finished his course.

Nicholas Ridley labored many years in the cause of the Reformation. In 1537 Cranmer appointed him one of his chaplains, and in the following year he was collated to the vicarage of Herne, in Kent, where he preached with great success. He held that living, with other preferment, till 1547, when he was promoted to the bishopric of Rochester, from which he was translated to the see of London, in 1550. He was a laborious bishop. The martyrologist says, "He so labored and occupied himself in preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that a good child never was more loved by his dear parents than he was by his flock and diocese. Every Sunday and holy day he preached in some place or other, unless hindered by weighty business. To these sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he not only preached, but showed

the same by his life, as a shining light, in such pure order, that even his very adversaries could not reprove him in any one jot thereof." In the advancement of the Reformation, during the reign of Edward VI. he necessarily acted an important part, and was the most efficient of Cranmer's zealous coadjutors. On the accession of Mary he was committed to the Tower, where he had for his companions Latimer, Cranmer, and Bradford. They spent their time in searching the Scriptures and studying anew those doctrines which they had striven to establish, and for which they expected to yield their lives.

After his resignation of the bishopric of Worcester, Latimer was imprisoned in the Tower, through the intervention of Gardiner, and continued there till the death of Henry VIII. a period of six years. Being released on the accession of Edward, he declined resuming his bishopric, preferring to be engaged solely in preaching, and to have a wide range of effort. He travelled from place to place, proclaiming the great truths of the Gospel with characteristic simplicity and holy fervor, and sometimes preached before the king, or assisted Cranmer and his friends in consultation. These exertions were incalculably beneficial to the good cause. When the tide of affairs turned, after the death of Edward, he was a marked man. The Tower once more received him within its gloomy walls.

In April, 1554, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were sent down to Oxford to hold a public disputation with the Papists. As far as the Reformers were concerned it was a mere farce, and was only designed to annoy them, and expose them to public gaze and contempt. They were condemned as heretics, and left in prison to await their death. Their time was not wasted in idleness. Cranmer revised and enlarged his writings on the sacrament. Latimer, who was now aged and feeble, and unfit for study, read the New Testament through seven times. Ridley was treated with great harshness; most of his books were taken away, and he was deprived the use of pen, ink and paper. When other materials failed him, he cut the lead from his prison windows and wrote his observations on the margins of the books which had been suffered to remain in his hands.

Ridley and Latimer were burned in the same fire, at Oxford, October 16, 1555. The Lord was with them at that awful season. Ridley reached the place of burning first. When Latimer arrived he kissed him and said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it." After a scurrilous sermon by Dr. Smith, a popish champion, they were led to the stake. As the executioner was kindling the fire, Latimer turned to his fellow-sufferer and said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; *we shall this*

day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Then exclaiming, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" and bending towards the flames, which fiercely ascended at that part of the fire, he quickly expired. Ridley's sufferings were horrible. The fagots being heaped up too high, the fire was kept down, and burned his legs without reaching his body. He entreated those around to remove the obstruction, and let the fire come to him; but they, misunderstanding him, added more fagots to the heap, and thereby increased his torments. At length one of the bystanders discovered the mistake, and pulled away some of the upper fagots. The fire blazed up immediately, and the agonies of the martyr were soon ended.

Cranmer was not put to death till March 21, 1556. His history during the interval affords a melancholy illustration of human weakness. Having been cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, he was declared contumacious for non-appearance, although he had been kept in prison all the while, and condemned to death. On the 14th of February he was publicly degraded. From that time the most strenuous efforts were employed to induce him to recant. He was removed from prison to the dean's residence, treated with all the respect and indulgence due to his former station, flattered, cajoled, his life promised him. Life was dear; perhaps he hoped to be yet serviceable in some

degree to the cause of Christ, and he desired to print a reply to the sophistries of Gardiner. In an evil hour he affixed his signature to a paper signifying his sorrow for having forsaken Popery, and his return to the Romish church. Other papers of a similar kind, but more full and stringent, were successively signed. The seventh and last was submitted to him on the morning of the day appointed for his execution, by Garcina, a Spanish friar, who had already promised him his life if he would recant, and now, having failed in the fulfilment of the promise, required him to sign a final retraction of heresy, and read it to the multitude before his death. Cranmer transcribed two copies, one of which was delivered to Garcina, and the other retained. Bitterly repenting of his fall, he resolved to retract his recantations in public, and thus disappoint the hopes of the Papists, who were glorying in the victory they had achieved, and impatiently waited for the open demonstration of their success. An immense crowd had assembled in St. Mary's church, where Cranmer was placed on a high platform near the pulpit. Dr. Cole preached. In the close of his sermon he dwelt at large on Cranmer's supposed penitence, assured the congregation that he would die in the faith of the Romish church, and called upon him to confirm all that had been said by reading his final recantation. During this discourse Cranmer was deeply affected. The tears flowed abundantly; he

was evidently laboring under powerful emotions of distress and remorse. Taking a paper from his bosom, he first kneeled down and prayed, confessing his sin and earnestly imploring forgiveness. Then he read a pious exhortation to the people; at the end of which he said, "And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master, Christ, for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked devils in hell, and I see before mine eyes presently, either heaven ready to receive me, or else hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any color or dissimulation; for now it is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have said or written in time past." Having recited the apostles' creed, he added, "And I believe every article of the catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Savior Jesus Christ, his apostles and prophets, in the New and Old Testament."

"And now," said he, "I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life; and that is, the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth: which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and which were written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such

bills and papers, which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore; for may I come to the fire it shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine. And as for the sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the bishop of Winchester, the which, my book, teacheth so true a doctrine of the sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the judgment of God, where the papistical doctrine, contrary thereto, shall be ashamed to show her face."

This unexpected avowal disconcerted and confounded the popish party, and exasperated them in the highest degree. Some reproached the martyr; others entered into argument with him; but all other feelings gave way to cruel rage. They pulled him down from the platform and hurried him at once to the stake, reviling as they went. When the fire was applied to the pile, he stood unmoved, stretching out his right hand in the midst of the flames, and repeatedly exclaiming, "This hand hath offended; oh! this unworthy right hand!" His last moments were spent in prayer. Calling upon the Savior in the language of the first martyr. "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit," he ceased to suffer and entered into rest.

Two hundred and eighty-eight persons, as already said, suffered death during the reign of Mary. Add to this the anguish inflicted on their surviving relatives—the wretchedness to which those were reduced whose natural protectors, husbands or fatners, were consumed in the flames —the devastation of property—the numberless instances of lingering imprisonment, brutal scourgings, and other cruelties not to be fully known till the day when all secrets will be disclosed*—the penury, privations, and multiform endurances experienced by exiles abroad, and such as contrived to elude detection at home—and what a frightful amount of misery is placed before us! No part of the kingdom was exempt. The bishops, in their respective dioceses, imitated the example of Bonner, and sought favor with the queen and cardinal Pole by hunting down the friends of truth, and wreaking vengeance on them. Magis-

* Coverdale thus describes these punishments: "Some were thrown into dungeons, ugsome holes, dark, loathsome, and stinking corners. Others lay in fetters and chains, and loaded with so many irons that they could scarcely stir. Some were tied in the stocks with their heels upwards. Some had their legs in the stocks and their necks chained to the wall with gorgets of iron, having neither stool nor stone to sit upon to ease their wearied bodies. Others stood in Skevington's gyves, which were most painful engines of iron, with their bodies doubled. Some were whipped and scourged, beaten with rods, and buffeted with fists Some had their hands burned with a candle, and some were miserably famished and starved."

trates were urged to more zealous co-operation, and in many instances it became necessary to quicken their slumbering zeal.* Men who had

* "There were some complaints in all places," (this relates to the year 1555,) "that the justices of the peace were remiss in the matters of religion; and particularly in Norfolk, that these things were ill looked to: so instructions were sent thither, requiring the justices to divide themselves into ten or twelve districts, that they might more narrowly look into all particulars; that they should encourage the preachers sent to instruct that county, and turn out such as did not come to church, or conform in all things, but chiefly the preachers of heresy; that the justices and their families should be good examples to the rest; that they should have one or two in every parish to be secretly instructed for giving information of every thing in it; and should look strictly to all vagabonds that wandered about, and to such as spread false reports." Burnet adds, "This was thought to have so much of the inquisition in it, that it was imputed to the counsels of the Spaniards."

In 1557 a commission was issued to the bishops of London and Ely, the lord North, secretary Bourne, and seventeen others, to the following effect: "That since many false rumors were published among the subjects, and many heretical opinions were also spread among them; therefore they, or any three of them, were to inquire into those, either by presentments, by witnesses, or any other politic way they could devise; and to search after all heresies; the bringers in, the sellers, or readers of all heretical books. They were to examine and punish all misbehaviors or negligences in any church or chapel, and to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar; all persons that did not hear mass, or come to their parish church to service; that would not go in procession, or did not take holy bread or holy water; and if they found any that did obstinately persist in such heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be proceeded against according to the laws; giving them full

wives and children shrunk from duties, the performance of which made wives widows and children fatherless. Lord Bacon showed his knowledge of human nature, when he said "Wife and children are a kind of discipline of humanity; and single men, though they be many times more charitable, because their means are less exhaust, yet, on the other side, they are more cruel and hard-hearted, *good to make severe inquisitors.*" Essays. "Of marriage and single life."

It pleased God to cut short the life of the persecutor. Mary died, Nov. 17, 1558, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole expired the next day. Some historians have spoken in favorable terms of Mary, and extolled her virtues and piety. But the black brand of persecution is on her. Popery hardened her heart. Under its influence she suffered two hundred and eighty-eight persons to perish in the flames in a very short space of time, and inflicted untold miseries on many more. And yet some will have us believe that Popery is Christianity, and that Mary was a clement and excellent queen!

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power to proceed, as their discretions and consciences should direct them; and to use all such means as they could invent for the searching of the premises: empowering them also to call before them such witnesses as they pleased, and to force them to make oath of such things as might discover what they sought after." Burnet's History of the Reformation. ii. 561, 627. It wanted but another step to the Inquisition.

The persecution under Mary did not reach Ireland, though Popery was re-established there immediately after her accession. A singular dispensation of Providence prevented it. Towards the end of her reign, when the persecutions in England raged with increased vigor, a commission was addressed to the lord deputy of Ireland, ordering similar proceedings to be adopted there, and appointing commissioners or inquisitors for that purpose. The order was given to Dr. Cole, who was directed to proceed to Ireland on this errand. Such a journey then was far more tedious than it is now. Dr. Cole travelled at the usual rate, and arrived at Chester, where he was waited upon by the mayor of that city, a zealous Romanist. In the course of conversation the doctor produced a leather box, which contained the commission, and said, "Here is that which shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The mistress of the inn, named Edmunds, overheard these words and was much troubled, being a Protestant, and having a brother residing in Dublin. When the mayor took his leave, Dr. Cole waited on him down stairs with much ceremony; the mistress seized the opportunity; she opened the box and took out the commission, placing in its stead a pack of cards. Dr. Cole not suspecting what had been done, pursued his journey, and arrived at Dublin on the 7th of October. The council being assembled, he declared his errand; and the lord

deputy desiring that the commission might be read, the secretary opened the box; but only found a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs placed uppermost. All were startled; and as they could not proceed without a commission, Dr. Cole went back to England to procure another; but queen Mary died before he could return to Dublin, and the papal persecutions were stopped.

The struggles of Popery in Ireland, in the reign of Elizabeth, were decidedly of a political character, and the papacy was enabled to maintain the contest by foreign aid; but the particulars belong not to our plan.

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SECTION V.

THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

Elizabeth had been compelled by her sister to yield outward conformity to popish ceremonies. But her real sentiments were pretty well known. Her accession to the throne was the welcome signal for the return of the exiles, who hastened home to resume the work of evangelical instruction and assist in re-establishing that reform which Mary had endeavored to crush. The friends of truth in England came forth from their concealment, prepared to co-operate in the restoration of the good cause. Popish prelates and priests saw their hopes dashed to the ground; unless the terms of con-

formity should prove easier than they had reason to expect, they could only anticipate the necessity of vacating their posts, and the grief of beholding the triumph of what they called heresy and schism. Their worst fears were soon to be realized.

With a view to prevent angry disputes, preaching was forbidden for a time; but it was ordered that, in the public services of the church, the gospels and epistles, the apostles' creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and the litany, should be read in English. This imperfect state of things did not last long. In less than six months after the queen's accession the Reformation was permanently settled. The liturgy and offices used in the time of Edward VI. were restored, with some slight alterations for the worse, by which it was hoped, but vainly, to conciliate the more moderate Papists. Images, which had been set up again in the days of Mary, were once more removed. The royal supremacy in things ecclesiastical was re-enacted, and an oath of submission to it required. And finally, after some further delay, the articles of religion, which had been published in the reign of Edward, were re-issued in a revised form, reduced in number to thirty-nine, (there were originally forty-two,) and constituted the standard doctrine of the church.

These changes (with the exception of the articles, which were not published till the year 1562) took effect May 1, 1559. Before that time

the decision of the popish bishops was known. Kitchin of Llandaff was the only one who retained office. When the oath of supremacy was tendered to the others they unanimously refused to take it, and were consequently deprived of their sees. Their example was followed by three bishops elect, one abbot, four priors, one abbess, twelve deans, fourteen archdeacons, sixty canons or prebendaries, one hundred beneficed clergymen, and fifteen heads of colleges in Oxford or Cambridge.* But upwards of nine thousand beneficed clergy yielded to the times and retained their livings. Many of them, there is just reason to believe, were men of no religious principles. Papists in heart, they had submitted to the reforms of king Edward, which however they hindered in every possible way. Under Mary they resumed their first profession. Now they became Protestants again, in name only, not in reality. Truth and godliness suffered much from the continuance of such men in their stations. Few of them could preach. Their duties were discharged carelessly. True spiritual instruction was scarcely to be had

* In all, 224. Bishop Burnet reckons 199. The larger enumeration is adopted by Camden and cardinal Allen. Dr. Lingard says (Hist. vii. 264,) that "among the lower orders of the clergy *many* thought proper to conform." He carefully conceals the numbers. An uninformed reader of his work would not imagine that *nineteen-twentieths* of the clergy of England conformed; yet such was the fact.

"The hungry sheep looked up, and were not fed." There was a general famine of the word of the Lord. And as the act of uniformity required full obedience to the prescribed forms, without allowing any discretion or alteration in the least particular, many excellent men, whose conscientious scruples forbade such subjection, were kept out of the church, and their valuable services lost at a time when they might have rendered essential aid. It was long before the wants of the country were even imperfectly supplied. Popish writers ascribe the spiritual destitution which prevailed for many years in England to the influence of the Reformation; but the truth is, that it is to be traced mainly to the ignorance and inefficiency of the men who chose to profess what they did not seriously believe, and undertook offices for which they were absolutely disqualified.

The Reformation was established in 1559. For several years the Papists fondly hoped that some re-action would take place, by which they might again obtain ascendancy. They attended the parish churches, and generally submitted in quietness to the existing order of things. But when, in 1570, pope Pius V. issued his infamous bull, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, releasing her subjects from the oath of allegiance, and encouraging popish monarchs to invade and seize the kingdom, the case was materially altered. From that time Popery and treason were closely, nay,

inseparably allied. No man could be true both to the pope and the queen. Elizabeth's life was embittered and the safety of the kingdom seriously compromised by the incessant efforts that were made to carry into effect the hostile decree. The queen was regarded as a usurper, and an anathematized heretic, whose deposition and death it was a solemn duty to endeavor. Plots of assassination were discovered, which had evidently originated at Rome. Conspiracies were formed for the express purpose of dethroning the queen, and substituting in her place a foreign popish prince. Under such circumstances the severe edicts which were passed during the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth were but measures of self-defence. The preservation of the queen's life, and the deliverance of the country from the awful consequences of invasion and the re-imposition of the papal yoke, can only be attributed to the providential care and goodness of God, by whose gracious dispensation Great Britain has been constituted the chief depository of the "lively oracles," and the messenger of peace to distant lands.

CHAPTER X.

History of the Reformation in Scotland.

Scotland was a rich inheritance to the Papists. Half the kingdom belonged to the clergy. They were gorged with wealth, and spent it on their lusts, revelling in sensual indulgence, in utter disregard of the warnings of conscience or the voice of public opinion. The land swarmed with ignorant and idle monks of all orders, whose immoralities disgusted the virtuous, and who fostered with sedulous care every absurd superstition, by which they might perpetuate the debasement of the people and divert attention from their own scandalous conduct. Even bishops were unacquainted with the word of God. "I thank God," said the bishop of Dunkeld, addressing Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar, who was burned at Edinburgh, "that I have lived well these many years, and never knew either the Old or New Testament. I content myself with my portesse and my pontifical."*

This darkness was not to continue. The works of Luther were brought into the country, and such

* The *portesse*, *portasse*, or *porteous*, (the name is spelt differently by the writers of those times,) was the Romish Breviary, in a portable form. The *pontifical* was the book of rites and ceremonies, the Romish rubric.

effects soon followed, that an act of parliament was passed in 1525 prohibiting the importation of the Reformer's writings, for Scotland, as the act alleged, had always "bene clene of all sic filth and vice!"

Acts of parliament could not exclude the truth.

Among those to whom the writings of Luther had been useful was Patrick Hamilton, a young man of illustrious birth, who had been destined to the priesthood while a child, appointed abbot of Ferne, and educated accordingly. Having incurred the suspicion of heresy, by the freedom with which he spoke of the corruptions of the church, he found it expedient to withdraw for a time from his native land and travel on the continent. The fame of Luther attracted him to Wittemberg, where he received great benefit from intercourse with that reformer and with Melancthon, at whose joint recommendation he repaired to Marburg, and placed himself under the instruction of Lambert of Avignon, the learned and pious principal of the university then newly established in that city. He did not remain long, for his soul yearned with agonizing compassion over the spiritual wretchedness and destitution of his country. Returning to Scotland, he went from place to place, declaiming against the errors of the times, exposing the vices of the ecclesiastics, and preaching free justification by faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The success of his efforts alarmed the clergy.

They laid a snare for him, into which he fell. One Campbell, a Dominican friar, was instructed to seek his friendship, under pretence of a desire to know the truth, and thus to obtain from his own mouth an avowal of his opinions. The stratagem succeeded; Campbell revealed all he learned; and Hamilton was seized, imprisoned, brought before the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, February 29, 1528, condemned and burned the same day. He suffered with calm intrepidity, steadfastly refusing to renounce the truths he had taught, and expressing his unshaken assurance in the mercy of the Savior.

The martyrdom of Hamilton did great service to the cause of truth. Some were indignant at the outrageous injustice of his condemnation, and became gradually alienated from the priesthood. Many more were induced to inquire into the truth of the sentiments for which he suffered. The means of pursuing these inquiries were supplied by the friends of the Reformation in England and on the continent. Copies of Tyndall's New Testament, and of other protestant works, were imported, which were consigned to persons of known prudence, and by them circulated in the most efficient manner. "One copy of the Bible, or of the New Testament, supplied several families. At the dead hour of night, when others were asleep, they assembled in one house; the sacred volume was brought from its concealment;

and, while one read the rest listened with mute attention." M'Crie, i. 32.

At this time teachers were scarce; but some few of the clergy, who had embraced the truth, and others, who were qualified to impart instruction, zealously committed themselves to the work, and traversed the country in every direction, proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation. "The eagerness with which the multitudes listened to these preachers was very striking. They were constantly surrounded by numbers thirsting for instruction; and who, in the imperfect state of government which then existed, entertained no fear that conversion would be attended with consequences fatal to their tranquillity. Under the eye and the patronage of their own chieftains, they could remain in security; and if they did not attract public notice, by taking an active and open part in spreading the knowledge of Scripture, they were left without molestation, to prosecute and to increase that knowledge. The consequence was, that at a very early period the great mass of the community in Scotland were disposed to embrace the protestant faith." Cook's Hist. Ref. in Scotland, i. 183.

Persecution, however, at length fell upon the early champions of reform. Many of them, finding it impossible to remain in safety in Scotland, abandoned their homes and went into voluntary exile: some to England; some to Denmark, Ger-

many, and other parts of the continent. Among them was George Buchanan, afterwards the celebrated historian. Others were unsuccessful in their endeavors to escape, or preferred to remain and labor for God, leaving the issue with him; and several of them testified to the truth at the stake. But these severities only injured the cause they were intended to promote. The number of Protestants still continued to increase, and many noblemen and gentlemen, of large property and extensive influence, were "obedient to the faith."*

During the regency of the earl of Arran an important act was passed, granting full liberty to all persons to read the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. The prelates warmly protested against it, but their opposition was fruitless. At that time the regent favored the Reformation. He chose protestant chaplains, by whose zealous efforts many were induced to embrace the Gospel. The press, too, began to be employed in Scotland on

* In 1541 cardinal Beaton procured acts of parliament to be passed, by which "confiscation of goods was to be incurred by all who expressed any doubt with regard to the jurisdiction of the pope; assemblies for inquiring into the Scriptures were interdicted, none being allowed to give their judgment upon them but those who were lawfully called to do so; the harboring or concealing of heretics was proscribed; rewards were offered to every one who informed against them; and all were prohibited from making any solicitation in their favor, or from giving them the relief which every human being in distress might expect from his fellow-creatures." Cook, i. 192.

the side of truth, and many useful publications were issued, which were widely disseminated among the people.

Another storm arose. Arran apostatized from the faith, and surrendered himself to the influence of cardinal Beaton. Former indulgences were revoked. Adherence to Protestantism was again treated as a crime deserving severe punishment. Great numbers of persons were summoned before the cardinal, merely for reading the New Testament, for which offence they were doomed to protracted imprisonment. Others suffered the last penalty of the law. Four men were burned at Perth: one because he had interrupted a friar, who taught that none could be saved without praying to the saints; and the other three because they had treated disrespectfully the image of a saint, and eaten flesh on a forbidden day. The wife of one of the four was drowned for refusing to pray to the Virgin Mary during the pains of childbirth, affirming that she would pray to God alone, in the name of Jesus Christ. "The circumstances attending the last scene of this unfortunate woman's life must move every heart from which the best feelings of our nature have not been eradicated. Warmly attached to her husband, with whom she had enjoyed some years of uninterrupted domestic happiness, she implored that they might die together. This affecting request having been barbarously refused, she sooth-

ed, by the most impressive consolations, his departing moments; and after witnessing his execution, she prepared for her own. The tenderness of a parent agitated her mind. She entreated her neighbors to show humanity to her children; and, to complete her anguish, she took from her bosom the infant whom she suckled, and gave it to the nurse whom she had provided. Yet all this did not overpower her fortitude, or shake her faith; she rose superior to her sufferings, and she died with courage and with comfort." Cook's History, i. 268.

The most illustrious victim of this period was George Wishart. This excellent man was descended from an ancient and respectable family, who held the estate of Pitarrow, in the county of Mearns. He embraced the principles of the Reformation at an early age. Being persecuted by the bishop of Brechin for teaching the Greek Testament in the school of Montrose, he went into England, and studied for some time at Cambridge. He returned in 1544 full of zeal for the truth, and immediately commenced a course of arduous and useful labor. At Montrose, Dundee, and throughout the western part of Scotland he preached the Gospel with extraordinary success. "Excelling all his countrymen at that period in learning—of the most persuasive eloquence—irreproachable in life—courteous and affable in manners—his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the

cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity. In his tour of preaching he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people, who flocked to hear him, were ravished with his discourses." M'Crie, i. 41. Cardinal Beaton and the clergy were greatly alarmed at the reports which reached them of Wishart's popularity, and determined to crush him at once. An attempt at assassination having failed, he was arrested, cast into prison, subjected to the indignities of an illegal trial, and sentenced to be burned. The sentence was executed at St. Andrews, March 1, 1546, in the presence of the cardinal and other prelates. In less than three months afterwards, May 29, the murdered body of Beaton was exhibited from the very window whence he had beheld the sufferings of the martyr. His ambition, injustice and cruelty had engendered universal discontent and hatred. A conspiracy was formed against him, and his life was the forfeit.

John Knox had accompanied Wishart in his last tour, and narrowly escaped sharing his fate.* This great man had avowed protestant opinions about the year 1542. He was then in the thirty-

* Wishart had a presentiment of his death, and would not allow Knox to proceed. He sent him back with these words: "One is sufficient for a sacrifice."

seventh year of his age. Having received a liberal education, he had entered into the priesthood, and high hopes were entertained of his future eminence. But his ardent inquisitive mind could not be satisfied with the barren subtleties of the schools. He studied the works of Jerome and Augustine, and other fathers, and was thence led to the Scriptures. The result was his abandonment of the Romish system. Being compelled on this account to leave St. Andrews, in the university of which city he had been usefully engaged in tuition for many years, he entered into the family of Hugh Douglass, of Langniddrie, in East Lothian, as tutor to his sons. But he was already a marked man. Many attempts were made on his life, and it became necessary to seek a place of refuge. The conspirators against cardinal Beaton had seized and held possession of the castle of St. Andrews. Many others, who had been harassed by persecution, took shelter there, and Knox joined them, about Easter, 1547, with his pupils. He soon found congenial employment. By the unanimous vote of the garrison he was invited to become colleague to John Rough, who had hitherto acted as sole chaplain. He entered on this office with much fear and trembling; but his eminent fitness for the work was universally acknowledged. His lucid expositions of Scripture, and the boldness with which he denounced the errors of Popery, were remarkably useful. A great

number of the inhabitants of St. Andrews were convinced that Romanism is essentially anti-christian, and openly forsook the church. Extensive changes would have taken place, had it not been for the disastrous issue of the conflict in which the conspirators against Beaton and those who sided with him were engaged. The assistance of a French fleet having been procured, they were compelled to surrender; and Knox, with many others, was kept in confinement a considerable time in the French galleys. Knox was liberated in 1549, and proceeded to England, where he remained, diligently laboring in the cause of the Reformation, under the patronage of Edward VI. till 1554.

The progress of the Reformation in Scotland was checked for several years. The clergy, having got the upper hand, used their power with characteristic vigor. Some of the most influential of the supporters of evangelical religion were prosecuted, under various pretences, and banished, or put to death. The laws against heresy were renewed, and fresh enactments added. And, in order to satisfy the growing demand for reform, provincial councils were held in 1549, 1551, and 1552, when many regulations were made, which, had they been observed, would have effected great improvements in the lives and manners of the clergy, and in the quality of the instruction they communicated. They were admonished not to

retain in their houses their illegitimate children, nor to procure benefices for them. Bishops and rectors were enjoined to preach personally, four times in the year at least. If any of them were unfit for the duty, through want of practice, they were to entertain in their houses learned divines for the purpose of instructing them. In every bishopric a benefice was to be set apart for the support of a preacher, or a pension allotted; and the preacher so provided for, was to preach in the parishes of that district where the greatest necessity existed. A catechism was compiled by archbishop Hamilton, who had succeeded Beaton at St. Andrews; and copies were sent to all rectors, vicars, and curates, with directions to read a portion of it, instead of a sermon, on every Sunday and holyday when no person qualified to preach was present. They were further instructed to "practise daily in reading their catechism, lest, on ascending the pulpit, they should stammer and blunder, and thereby expose themselves to the laughter of the people." The canons of these councils contained many excellent provisions, but they were entirely inefficacious. The licentious lives of the clergy were unreformed; and the *twopenny faith*, as the catechism was derisively called, from the price at which it was sold, was quickly neglected and forgotten.*

* A controversy was carried on at this time in St. Andrews, which strikingly illustrates the state of religion. Richard Mar-

The friends of the Gospel, though cast down, were not in despair. A goodly number yet remained, who met in private for mutual edification The accession of the queen-dowager to the regency, on the resignation of the earl of Arran, in 1554, was favorable to their cause; as, in order to induce them to support her pretensions to the high office, she had promised, in the event of success, to protect them against the malice of the clergy. The persecution in England, too, under Mary, helped forward the progress of the Gospel in the Scottish territory. Some of the good men who fled from the storm sought refuge in Scotland, "where they were suffered to remain undisturbed, and even to teach in private, through the connivance of the new regent, and in consequence of the security into which the clergy had been lulled by success. Travelling from place to place they instructed numbers, and by their example and exhortations fanned the latent zeal of those who had formerly received the knowledge of the truth." M'Crie, i. 170.

The arrival of Knox was a still more import-

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shall, prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle, had visited St. Andrews, and preached a sermon, in which he taught that the Lord's prayer was to be addressed to God only. The doctors of the university were indignant at such an assertion, and another friar was employed to confute Marshall, who actually maintained that the Lord's prayer might be offered to the saints, and expounded all its petitions on that principle! Cook's History, i. 361.

ant event. When he left England, after the death of Edward, he went first to Geneva, where he was very kindly received by Calvin and his friends. In November, 1554, he undertook the office of superintendent of the English church which had been founded by the exiles who had settled at Frankfort on the Maine. The divisions which ultimately broke out among them rendered his removal necessary, and he returned to Geneva. When he received information of the encouraging aspect of affairs in Scotland, he deemed it his duty to re-visit his native country. He left Geneva in August, 1555, and continued in Scotland till the following July. The interval was spent in unintermitting labors; preaching, teaching, writing, travelling from place to place, and otherwise exerting himself for the promotion of the great and good cause. Erskine of Dun, Maitland of Leithington, lord Loin, afterwards earl of Argyle, lord Erskine, afterwards earl of Mar, and lord James Stewart, subsequently created earl of Murry, with many other distinguished personages, attended his ministry. He preached in private houses and in the mansions of the great, and was obliged to travel in secrecy, yet great numbers contrived to hear him: on several occasions the Lord's supper was administered according to the New Testament; and those who had received the truth agreed that for the future they would not attend the celebration of mass as they had been used to do, but

separate entirely from the Romish church, and meet privately for worship till God should send them better times. Some also entered into a solemn engagement, or covenant, to the same effect —an example which was afterwards frequently followed in Scotland.

All this could not be done in secret. Knox's proceedings were reported to the bishops, and he was summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy, at the church of the Black Friars, Edinburgh. He went on the day appointed, accompanied by Erskine of Dun and other gentlemen; but no meeting was held; for when the clergy, who did not expect that he would appear, and meant to condemn him unheard, ascertained that he was likely to obey the summons, they set it aside, under pretence of some informality, and did not venture to show themselves. This gave the reformer a great advantage. On the very day on which he was to have stood at the bar as a criminal, he preached at the bishop of Dunkeld's lodgings to a far more numerous audience than he had before seen; and he continued to preach in the same place twice a day, for the ten following days, without the least molestation.

The English congregation at Geneva having invited Knox to become their pastor, he accepted their invitation. It would have been obviously at too great risk of his liberty, and perhaps of his life, to have remained longer in Scotland. On

his departure he addressed a letter to his friends, to be circulated in the places where he had preached during his late visit. It contained such directions for their conduct as he judged most suitable under their circumstances. After recommending frequent perusal of the Scriptures, and the observance of family worship, he exhorted them to meet together once a week for religious exercises. He advised that their meetings should be opened by prayer and reading the Scriptures. Then, "if an exhortation, interpretation, or doubt occurred to any brother, he might speak; but he ought to do it with modesty, and a desire to edify, or to be edified; carefully avoiding 'multiplication of words, perplexed interpretations, and wilfulness in reasoning.' If, in the course of reading or conference, they met with any difficulties which they could not solve, he advised them to commit these to writing before they separated, that they might submit them to the judgment of the learned; and he signified his own readiness to give them his advice by letters, whenever it should be required." M'Crie, i. 193.

The number of Protestants continued steadily to increase, and their leaders felt so much encouraged by existing appearances, that a letter was sent to Knox soliciting his return. He received it in May, 1557, and, taking time for consideration and advice, resolved to comply with the request. He arrived at Dieppe, on his way

to Scotland, in October. There he received another letter, informing him that some who had appeared decided had begun to waver, fearing the consequences of so bold a step, and apprehensive that their party was not yet strong enough to incur the hazard which such a proceeding would involve. Disappointed, though not dismayed, the Reformer returned to Geneva, but not till he had transmitted to his friends an earnest remonstrance and solemn reproof for their pusillanimity, couched in his own peculiarly fervid style. It produced an astonishing effect. They met immediately, and entered into covenant to devote themselves and their all to the work of reformation. Decisive measures followed. The Protestants assumed the distinctive name of "the congregation," and the noblemen to whom the management of their affairs were intrusted were styled the "lords of the congregation." They passed the following resolutions, which were sent to all who were known to profess Protestantism: —1. It is thought expedient, that in all parishes of this realm the common prayer [according to the English form] be read weekly on Sunday, and on other festival days, in the churches, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the Book of Common Prayer; and if the curates of the parishes be qualified, that they be caused to read the same; and if they be not, or if they refuse, that the

most qualified of the parish use and read them. 2. It is thought necessary that doctrine, preaching, and interpretation of Scriptures be had and used privately in quiet houses, without great conventions of people, till God move the prince to grant public preaching by faithful and true ministers." Cook, ii. 35. And they acted on these resolutions in all parishes under their control, and in their own mansions. The clergy viewed these changes with much apprehension. Furious at such an attempt, they vainly thought to intimidate those whom they could not convince. Walter Mill, an aged priest, who had been compelled to abscond in cardinal Beaton's time, through suspicion of heresy, and had lived in concealment, being discovered, was apprehended and brought to trial before the archbishop of St. Andrews. Contrary to the expectations of the prelate and his clergy, the old man, though he had reached his eighty-second year, defended himself with surprising propriety and force. But it availed him not. He was condemned as an obstinate heretic, and burned, August 28, 1558. When he was fastened to the stake he said, "As for me, I am four-score and two years old, and cannot live long by course of nature; but a hundred better shall rise out of the ashes of my bones. I trust in God I shall be the last that shall suffer death in Scotland for this cause." M'Crie, i. 234.

This barbarous execution excited universal horror and indignation. The Protestants, so far from being deterred, were confirmed and emboldened. The lords of the congregation presented an address to the queen regent, imploring protection against the tyrannical proceedings of the clergy, and soliciting the following concessions: that their worship might be legalized; that baptism and the Lord's supper might be administered in the language of the country, and the latter in both kinds; that the wicked and scandalous lives of the clergy should be reformed, so that the people might no longer contemn their ministry; "and that this Reformation should be regulated by the precepts of the New Testament, the writings of the ancient fathers, and the godly laws of the emperor Justinian." Cook, ii. 46.

The regent affected a friendly feeling, promised them protection, and permitted worship to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. But it soon appeared that she was only dissembling to gain time, and that she secretly purposed to put down Protestantism, in compliance with the instructions she had received from her uncles in France, (the Guises,) as soon as her plans should be sufficiently matured. After sundry negociations, she threw aside reserve, issued a proclamation commanding all persons to profess Romanism, resort daily to mass, and make confession to the priests; and summoned the most eminent of the reformed preachers to appear before

a parliament to be held at Stirling, and there to answer any accusations that might be brought against them. Endeavors were made to induce her to abandon her hostile purposes, and for a time she again dissembled, but soon resumed her intentions, and renewed the summons to the preachers. The Protestants resolved to attend the ministers on the occasion, unarmed, but in sufficient numbers to show their importance and the firmness of their attachment to the cause in which they had embarked. Perth was the place of rendezvous, to which they repaired from the adjoining counties. Anxious to remove any unfavorable impression that might be produced by the appearance of a large assembly, Erskine of Dun was sent to the regent to explain the object of their meeting. Once more she dissembled. Erskine was assured that if the people would disperse, the prosecution against the preachers should be relinquished, and such provisions made for the future as would secure protection to the protestant party. He relied on her word, and advised his friends to return home. The majority complied, and separated; but the principal barons and gentlemen, with the preachers, remained at Perth. No sooner did the regent learn that her insidious request had been acceded to, than she took off the mask. On the very day on which the preachers were to have appeared, she issued a proclamation, denouncing them as outlaws for their non-appearance, and

forbidding all persons, under severe penalties, to harbor or assist them. This abominable perfidy opened the eyes of the protestant leaders. They were now convinced that there must be an end to negociations and petitions, and that the most bold and determined course of action must be adopted.

At this critical period Knox arrived in Scotland. He landed, May 2, 1559, eight days before the time appointed for the appearance of the preachers at Stirling; and, having staid one night at Edinburgh, he hastened to Dundee, and thence to Perth, where he was received with great joy and abundant thanksgiving to God for bringing him back to his country at such a juncture. On the 11th of May, the day after the condemnation of his brethren, Knox preached in his usual strain of vehement eloquence against the idolatry practised in the church of Rome, both in the mass and in image-worship, and reminded his audience of the numerous commands God had given to destroy idols. After the service most of the congregation had quietly dispersed, when a priest who was present, "wishing either to try the disposition of the people, or to show his contempt of the doctrine which had been delivered by the preacher, uncovered a rich altar-piece decorated with images, and prepared to celebrate mass. A boy having uttered some expressions of disapprobation was struck by the priest. He retaliated by throwing a stone at the aggressor, which, falling on the

altar, broke one of the images. This operated like a signal upon the people present, who had taken part with the boy; and, in the course of a few minutes the altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church, were torn down, and trampled under foot. The noise soon collected a mob who, finding no employment in the church, by a sudden and irresistible impulse flew upon the monasteries; and although the magistrates of the town and the preachers assembled as soon as they heard of the riot, yet neither the persuasions of the one nor the authority of the other could restrain the mob, until the houses of the grey and black friars, with the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks, were laid in ruins." M'Crie, i. 259.

This was the signal for war. The regent immediately assembled forces, vowing vengeance on the destroyers of holy buildings, and marched to Perth with the determination to raze the town. The lords of the congregation armed in defence, and presented so formidable an appearance that it was deemed imprudent to venture on an attack. Negociations followed, only to be succeeded by the renewal of hostilities, the design of the regent being evidently to gain time and overreach her opponents by intriguing policy, so as to be able ultimately to crush them. More than once she seemed on the point of accomplishing her purpose. The cause of the Reformation in Scotland would have been irretrievably ruined had not its leaders

succeeded in obtaining the assistance of queen Elizabeth, who first sent them money, and afterwards entered into a treaty with them, in virtue of which an English army was added to their own forces, and final success achieved. The civil war lasted about a year. Peace was signed, July 7, 1560. All foreign troops left the country, (the French, by whose aid the regent's cause had been upheld—and the English, whose opportune arrival had decided the contest;) the regent had died shortly before the termination of the conflict; Mary, the queen, being resident in France, the government devolved on a council; and in the existing state of the kingdom the balance of power was evidently on the side of the Reformers.

The Reformation had continued to advance, even while the war was raging. The example set at Perth was followed at St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Stirling, Cupar, and other considerable places. The monasteries were pulled down. Images, pictures, and all incentives to idolatry were destroyed. Protestant worship was established. Many eminent ecclesiastics, distinguished for learning and piety, joined the reformers, and engaged heartily in the work. At the close of the war the Protestants constituted the majority of the nation.

This success was mainly attributable to the boldness, prudence, and indomitable energy of Knox. He was constantly in attendance on the lords of the congregation, both in the field and in the for-

tress. In their difficulties he counselled them; in their discouragements he revived declining energy, enkindling the flame at the fire of his own enthusiasm. In the autumn of 1559 he undertook a preaching tour through a considerable part of the kingdom, the result of which was a large accession to the ranks of the Reformers. During the following winter he conducted the negociation with the English court. "His zeal and activity in the cause of the congregation exposed him to the deadly resentment of the queen-regent and the Papists. A reward was publicly offered to any one who should apprehend or kill him; and not a few, actuated by hatred or avarice, lay in wait to seize his person. But this did not deter him from appearing in public, nor from travelling through the country in the discharge of his duty. His exertions at this period were incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching; by night in writing letters on public business. He was always found at the post of danger; and, by his presence, his public discourses and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt and disunite them." M'Crie, i. 296.

At a meeting of the parliament, held in August, 1560, the Reformation was established in Scotland. A confession of faith, drawn up by Knox and his brethren, was approved, and three acts were passed. By the first, the power and jurisdiction of the

pope in Scotland were abolished; by the second, all acts in favor of the Romish church were repealed; and by the third, it was ordained that all who said mass, or were present at the celebration of it, should be punished, for the first offence, by confiscation of goods or bodily suffering; for the second, by banishment from the kingdom; and for the third, by death. Knox had also prepared a scheme of ecclesiastical government, since called "The First Book of Discipline." It was submitted to the parliament, but the changes proposed were too sweeping to obtain unanimous concurrence, and on that account the further consideration of the document was postponed; nevertheless, it was subscribed and adopted by the principal Protestants, and its provisions were generally carried into effect.

Mary queen of Scots took possession of her kingdom in August, 1561.* From that time till

* Soon after Mary's arrival in Scotland she sent for Knox, and held a long conversation with him. "She accused him of raising her subjects against her mother and herself; of writing a book against her just authority, which (she said) she would cause the most learned in Europe to answer; of being the cause of sedition and bloodshed when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purpose by magical arts. When he had answered these charges she changed the subject, and accused him of teaching the people to receive a religion different from that which was allowed by their princes; and she asked if this was not contrary to the Divine command, that subjects should obey their rulers. He replied, that true religion derived its origin and authority not

1567, when she resigned the government, the cause of the Reformation was often exposed to peril through her inveterate hostility. But at

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from princes, but from the eternal God; that princes were often most ignorant of the true religion; and that subjects were not bound to frame their religion according to the arbitrary will of their rulers, else the Hebrews would have been bound to adopt the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel and his associates that of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and the primitive christians that of the Roman emperors.

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"'Well then,' said the queen, 'I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me; and will do what they please, and not what I command: and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me.' 'God forbid!' replied the reformer, 'that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects to do whatever pleases them. But my travail is, that both princes and subjects may obey God.'

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"'But you are not the church that I will nourish,' said the queen; 'I will defend the church of Rome; for it is, I think, the true church of God.' 'Your *will*, madam, is no reason; neither doth your *thought* make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot, for that church is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners.' He added, that he was ready to prove that the Romish church had declined farther from the purity of religion taught by the apostles, than the Jewish church had degenerated from the ordinances which God gave them by Moses and Aaron, at the time when they denied and crucified the Son of God. 'My conscience is not so,' said the queen. 'Conscience, madam, requires knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge you have none.' 'But I have both heard and read.' 'So, madam, did the Jews, who crucified Christ Jesus, read the law and the prophets, and hear the same

length full triumph was secured.* The first parliament which was held under the government of

interpreted after their manner. Have you heard any teach but such as the pope and the cardinals have allowed? And you may be assured that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate.'

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"He proceeded to show that the popish doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass was destitute of all foundation in Scripture. But the queen, who was determined to avoid all discussion of the articles of her creed, interrupted him by saying that she was unable to contend with him in argument, but if she had those present whom she had heard, they would answer him. 'Madam,' replied the reformer fervently, 'would to God that the most learned Papist in Europe, and he whom you would best believe, were present with your grace to sustain the argument, and that you would wait patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end; for then, I doubt not, madam, but you would hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath in the word of God.' 'Well,' said she, 'you may perchance get that sooner than you believe.' 'Assuredly, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant Papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty Papist will never come in your audience to have the ground of their religion searched out. When you shall let me see the contrary I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point.'

"The hour of dinner afforded an occasion for breaking off this singular conversation. At taking leave of her majesty the reformer said, 'I pray God, madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel!'" M'Crie, ii. 31–39. Knox had other interviews with the queen, and faithfully proclaimed the truth in her hearing; but she was hardened against it to the last.

* John Knox died November 24, 1572, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. The narrative of his death is deeply interesting.

the regent Murray, confirmed all that had been enacted respecting religion in 1560, and added other statutes, more clearly defining the rights, powers, and privileges of the establishment, and fully securing them to their protestant purposes.

(See M'Crie, ii. 218–232.) He viewed the approach of dissolution with the utmost calmness, and was favored with the consolations of the Gospel in a remarkable degree. A few hours before he breathed his last, being asked the cause of his sighing so deeply, he replied, "I have formerly, during my frail life, sustained many contests, and many assaults of Satan; but at present that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously, and put forth all his strength to devour and make an end of me at once. Often before has he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often endeavored to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but these weapons being broken by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, he could not prevail. Now he has attacked me in another way: the cunning serpent has labored to persuade me that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But, blessed be God, who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart, by suggesting to me such passages of Scripture as these:—'What hast thou, that thou hast not received? By the grace of God I am what I am. Not I, but the grace of God in me.' Being thus vanquished, he left me. Wherefore I give thanks to my God, through Jesus Christ, who was pleased to give me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me; but within a short time I shall, without any great bodily pain or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal and miserable life for a blessed immortality, through Jesus Christ."

CHAPTER XI.

Results of the Reformation.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century all Europe lay prostrate at the feet of antichrist. With the exception of here and there a few individuals who mourned in secret over the abominable idolatries of the people—the Albigenses and Waldenses in the south of France and its neighborhood, and the Hussites in Bohemia—the nations were fast bound in the chains of the papacy. But before the close of that century a mighty revolution had taken place. Sweden, Norway and Denmark had entirely shaken off the yoke. In Poland, Prussia, and the most important of the German states, vast numbers had asserted their rights and secured their spiritual emancipation. The most powerful of the Swiss cantons had become protestant. The Low Countries had been deluged with sufferings, and paid dearly for liberty; yet, in the issue, they obtained a glorious triumph. The principles of the Reformation had traversed the length and breadth of France, enlisting the sympathies of all ranks and classes, and awakening deadliest hatred in the adherents of the old superstition. Great Britain and Ireland were severed from Rome.

In all this the devout mind will trace the work

of God. It was the beginning of his vengeance on the apostacy of the last days, and the first general beaming of light on a darkened world since the "times of refreshing" enjoyed by the early church. That the instruments mainly employed in bringing about this great change were holy men, whose souls were deeply imbued with the spirit of the Gospel, will be also acknowledged by all impartial persons. Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, Tyndall, Cranmer, Ridley, Knox, and their illustrious fellow-laborers, were spiritually-minded christians. They were not satisfied with removing the veil of ignorance and breaking the fetters of superstition. The ardent desires of their souls were not realized till they saw the objects of their solicitude converted to God. In thousands of instances those desires were accomplished. The outward reformation was accompanied by a manifest and glorious revival of true godliness.

The principal means used, and those to which the Divine blessing was most signally granted, were the preaching of the Gospel, the circulation of the Scriptures, and the press. There were other subordinate measures brought into action, which proved more or less efficacious; but to the abovementioned the greatest importance must be unquestionably attached.

Preaching occupied the chief place. The first agents in this grand enterprise were eloquent, forcible speakers. Having received the truth in the

love of it, theirs was the eloquence of the heart, and it produced astonishing effects. Luther's sermons were attended by immense crowds of eager listeners. Plain, popular, and fervent, they inculcated Scripture truth in a language which all could understand, and in a manner as far as possible removed from the drowsy dulness of monkish discourses. Zuingle commended the Gospel to his hearers in strains of fervid eloquence. The homely style adopted by Latimer was admirably calculated to secure the attention of the numerous audiences which he never failed to gather at Paul's Cross and other public places. The thunders of Knox made many a stout heart tremble; even proud, bigoted royalty quailed before him.*

* On one occasion, when Luther was on a journey, he stopped for a short time at Levickau. The news of his arrival quickly spread abroad in the neighboring towns, and the people hastened to Levickau to hear the Reformer preach. No building would contain the throng. When Luther appeared in the balcony of the hotel, from which he addressed the immense congregation, it was computed that twenty-five thousand persons were present. So effective was his discourse that the monks, who had hitherto controlled the public mind in Levickau, were compelled to leave the place. "The hope of their gains was gone."

When the persecuting edict of Worms was passed, the magistrates were afraid to countenance Lutheran preachers, and all the churches were shut against them. But the friends of truth adopted an expedient by means of which they continued to enjoy the privilege of hearing their favorite preachers. A plain portable pulpi was provided, which was conveyed to any unoccupied space tha might be chosen for the purpose. As soon as the pulpit was see

The translations of the Scriptures were fraught with incalculable advantages. Hitherto the word of God had been kept from the people at large. Editions of the Vulgate had been printed, but they were available only to those who understood Latin; besides which, their high price placed them entirely out of the reach of the bulk of the com munity. This was equally true of the existing trans-

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a large congregation gathered around it, and the preacher proceeded to address them. If the military or the police interfered the pulpit was easily removed, and the minister, mingling among the crowd, was undetected.

James Melville gives the following description of Knox's preaching. "Of all the benefits I had that year, [1571,] was the coming of that maist notable prophet and apostle of our nation, Mr. Johne Knoxe to St. Andrews, who, be the faction of the queen occupeing the castell and town of Edinburgh, was compellit to remove therefra, with a number of the best, and chusit to come to St. Andrews. I heard him teache there the prophecies of Daniel, that simmer and the wintar following. I had my pen and my little buike, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text he was moderat the space of an halfe houre; but when he enterit to application, he made me so to *grew* (thrill) and tremble, that I could not hald a pen to wryt. He was very weik. I saw him everie day of his doctrine, go *hulie and fear*, (slowly and warily) with a furring of martichs about his neck, a staffe in the an hand, and gud, godlie Richart Ballanden, his servand, haldin up the uther *oxter*, (arm pit) from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, be the said Richart and another servand, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean at his first entrie; bot, er he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigorous that he was lyk to *ding the pulpit in blads*, (beat the pulpit in pieces,) and flie out of it." Diary, pp. 23, 28, quoted in M'Crie's Life of Knox, ii. 265.

lations into the vernacular languages. It will be borne in mind, in addition, that but few could read But when the Reformers engaged in their glorious undertaking, their constant appeal to the Scriptures soon showed the necessity of an acquaintance with the sacred book. Wherever the Reformation took root the Bible was forthwith translated; and the general use of the Bible never failed to promote the Reformation. Persons of all classes were eager to obtain possession of the sacred volume; they read it with deep interest and delighted astonishment; they learned to "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good;" and they willingly cast off their allegiance to Rome, when they discovered, by searching the Scriptures, that it was incompatible with the obedience they owed to the Lord Jesus Christ.*

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* The protestant versions of the Scriptures published during the progress of the Reformation have been already mentioned. They were issued in the following order:

Luther's German New Testament, A. D.	1522
Danish New Testament,	1524
English New Testament, (Tyndall)	"
Helvetic New Testament,	"
Do. Entire Bible,	1525
Swedish New Testament,	1526
Belgic Bible,	"
Luther's German Bible	1534
English Bible, (Coverdale)	1535
French Bible, (Olevitan)	"
Danish Bible,	1541

Preaching awakened concern and stimulated inquiry. The publication of the Scriptures brought into the field a host of disputants. All parties had recourse to the press. Books and Tracts multiplied beyond all former precedent. The Reformers wisely threw into circulation an immense number of publications, small in size, but rich in Gospel truth, and thereby exerted a powerful influence on the public mind. By brief expositions of select portions of Scriptures, practical treatises, pithy exhortations, and unsparing exposures of papal misdoings, thousands were enlightened and convinced, and the excitement so necessary to success was sustained. The Romanists railed at the press, and complained loudly of its alleged licentiousness. "We must put down printing," they said, "or else printing will put us down." Thus they unwittingly betrayed the weakness of their cause, confessing that it would not abide the scrutiny of free inquiry and unbiassed judgment.*

A powerful stimulus was given to education. In many places the revenues of suppressed mo-

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Swedish Bible,	1550
Polish New Testament,	1552
Do. Entire Bible,	1563

* Luther's publications—all issued within the space of thirty years—were nearly five hundred in number. His letters are not included in this statement. They are now collected in five octavo volumes.

nasteries were appropriated to the establishment of schools. On this point the Reformers were justly anxious. The very existence of Protestantism depended, under God, on the general diffusion of knowledge. Without learning, the Scriptures could not be translated and explained. The Bible would be a useless gift to a people who could not read, or had not been trained to think and judge for themselves. "Gentlemen," said Luther, in a circular addressed to the members of the city and town councils of Germany, "much money is spent every year on weapons of war, roads, and fortifications; can you not spare a little for the support of a few schoolmasters? God is knocking at our door: happy are we if we open to him. The prosperity of a city does not merely consist in abundant treasures, strong walls, fine houses, and a splendid magazine of arms. If it is inhabited by fools, its misfortune will only be the greater for these advantages. The true welfare, the safety and strength of a city, is in proportion to the number of learned, pious, upright and well-instructed citizens who dwell therein." Luther urged the civic authorities to establish schools and libraries in every place. All the Reformers were of one mind on this subject. The rapacity of covetous men often hindered the full accomplishment of their wishes; yet very much was done wherever Protestantism was planted. Sound, useful learning was imparted to vast numbers, to whom, but

for the Reformation, its blessings would have been utterly unknown.

If we make no reference to the employment of secular force and the patronage of governments, it is because our sole object is to treat of the Reformation as a religious movement, and to point out the efficiency of spiritual means, and of such measures as harmonize with simply spiritual designs. We may be allowed, however, to express the deep regret which as christians we cannot but feel, that conformity to outward rites was ever enforced by penalties, and that fines, imprisonment, and sometimes death, awaited the disobedient. Persecution, by whomsoever encouraged, is a flagrant outrage on christian principle, and a high crime and misdemeanor against the "King of kings."

The rapid progress of reform aroused fierce indignation among the friends of the papacy. *They* had no scruples about the employment of fire and sword. It mattered not by what means—lawful or unlawful—at all events the Reformation must be crushed. Fearful was the encounter. Plunder, tortures, assassination, massacre, were familiar to the Papists. The heart sickens at the recitals of the historians of those times. Scenes of barbarity were enacted to which there is no parallel in any previous period of the world's history. Attached friends and near relatives conspired against each other's lives. Parents betrayed their children, and children their parents. New varieties

of torture were invented, exhausting the ingenuity of the inventors, and discovering methods by which acute suffering might be prolonged to the utmost verge of endurance. The servants of God fell by hundreds and by thousands: many by the hands of the public executioner; many in the dungeons of the inquisition; more by the sword of war. Neither age nor sex was spared. Wives were made widows, and children orphans; and a far greater number than those who actually suffered the penalties inflicted by unrighteous laws were reduced to destitution and ruin.

Still the cause of truth prospered. Suffering excited sympathy. Inquiry was favorable to truth. Persecution generally failed in accomplishing its object, or promoted the interests which it aimed to destroy. Italy and Spain were the only exceptions. In those countries the adversary succeeded in fully effecting his purpose by means of the inquisition. The doctrines of Scripture never reached the great mass of the people. Truth was uprooted, and all its friends were either silenced, banished, or murdered. See the late Dr. M'Crie's Histories of the Suppression of the Reformation in Italy and Spain.

Rome has been always prepared to adapt her measures to times and circumstances, and to change them as expediency requires. Policy may succeed where power fails. The institution of *the order of the Jesuits* was a most opportune event,

and was doubtless hailed with joy by the partizans of the papacy. That order has done more effectual service to Popery than any other, the Dominicans and Franciscans not excepted. The sole object of its institution was the propagation and defence of popish tenets. In addition to the three monastic vows, of chastity, poverty, and obedience to the superior, a fourth was added, binding the members to hold themselves at the disposal of the pope, to go any where and do any thing at his bidding, for the advancement of the interests of Rome. They have lived for that purpose. Through their strenuous efforts a mighty reaction took place in favor of the old system. Lost ground was recovered. New ground was occupied. The wavering were confirmed, the half-hearted revived, slumbering energies aroused, and a powerful impulse given to party spirit and zeal. In India, China, and other eastern countries, the missions conducted by the Jesuits were characterized by an heroic self-devotion seldom if ever equalled. In South America they to a certain extent reclaimed the barbarian, and scattered abroad the blessings of civilization. Their labors in the cause of education were unremitting, nor can it be denied that they were productive of much general good. But here we stop. The mischievous tendencies of the principles and practices of the Jesuits ought not to be concealed nor palliated. They avowed maxims which would subvert the

very foundations of society. It was held to be lawful to lie; to take an oath with mental reservation; and even to commit murder, if by so doing the interests of the papacy might be promoted. And their actions corresponded with their principles. They lied; they perjured themselves; they committed murder; aided and abetted in murder; contrived dark conspiracies against truth and freedom, and against rulers, when opposed to their views; embroiled countries with one another; and succeeded at length in raising against themselves such a storm of virtuous indignation, that they were expelled in turn from every nation of Europe, and their order suppressed by pope Clement XIV. in 1773. Pope Pius VII. restored it in 1814; and it is now again most actively at work, concocting evil every where. Popery welcomes its assistance, and cloaks its crimes. No system but Popery would tolerate such an institution.*

* "In 1540, when they presented their petitions to Paul III. they only appeared in the number of ten. In 1543 they were not more than twenty-four. In 1545, they had only ten houses: but in 1549 they had two provinces, one in Spain and the other in Portugal, and twenty-two houses; and at the death of Ignatius, in 1556, they had twelve large provinces. In 1608, Ribadeneira reckoned 29 provinces and two vice-provinces, 21 houses of profession, 293 colleges, 33 houses of probation, 93 other residences, and 10,581 Jesuits. In the catalogue printed at Rome in 1629, are found 35 provinces, two vice-provinces, 33 houses of profession, 578 colleges, 48 houses of probation, 88 seminaries, 160 residences, 106 missions, and in all 17,655 Jesuits, of whom 7,870 were priests. At last, (according to the calculation of father

The assembly of the Council of Trent was next in importance to the establishment of the order of the Jesuits. Successive popes had contrived to evade the universal demand for a council, naturally fearing that the results of such an assembly would be injurious to their power and authority. But Paul III. found it impossible to withstand the pressure of public opinion. In obedience to his call, the prelates of the Romish church, or rather a miserable fragment of them, met at Trent. The council was opened Dec. 13, 1545. In 1548 a sudden stop was put to its proceedings by a pretended alarm of the plague. Three years afterwards the fathers re-assembled, but were again dispersed in 1552 by the approach of the army of Maurice of Saxony, who was pursuing Charles V. They did not resume their deliberations till 1562. The last session was held Dec. 4, 1563.

By the decrees of this celebrated council the doctrines held by the church of Rome were definitively fixed. The most obnoxious tenets of Popery were retained, though expressed in guarded and plausible language; and thenceforth difference of opinion, which had been connived at to a considerable extent, even in the church of Rome, was absolutely forbidden. The innovations and

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Jouvency,) they had in 1710, 24 houses of profession, 59 houses of probation, 340 residences, 612 colleges, of which 80 were in France, 200 missions, 157 seminaries and boarding-houses, and 19,998 Jesuits" History of the Jesuits, i. 379.

inventions of Popery were fixed; they were stereotyped; that they might be handed down to posterity in their final form. See History of the Council of Trent.

The decisions of the Council of Trent were designed to operate on Romanists, and preserve them from heresy by placing in their hands a comprehensive summary of the doctrines they were expected to hold and profess. For the same purpose the catechism of the council was compiled. It was not a catechism, in the usual sense of that word, but a series of theological essays on the apostles' creed, the sacraments, the decalogue, and the Lord's prayer, written in a terse and elegant style, and well fitted for the instruction and confirmation of those for whom it is designed. A new creed was also prepared by order of pope Pius V. and since called by his name, embodying in a condensed form the doctrinal decrees of Trent. It is subscribed by all persons who take office in the church, and by all who enter it from other communities.

Other measures, of a directly aggressive character, and more in harmony with papal policy, were adopted. By the index of prohibited books, all the works of the Reformers, and all publications, by whomsoever written, containing sentiments differing from or hostile to those of the church of Rome, were proscribed; and this proscription extended even to translations of the

Scriptures executed by Protestants. It was unblushingly asserted that the indiscriminate perusal of the word of God in the vernacular languages was productive of more evil than good, and therefore was not to be permitted, except to such persons, and under such restrictions, as the clergy, guided by their superiors, might direct. These enactments are in full force at the present day.

Even this was not enough. The separate existence of Protestantism was deprecated. It was regarded as a nuisance, the removal of which must be endeavored at all hazards and by any means. The affairs of nations must be thrown into confusion—bloody wars excited—and horrible crimes perpetrated. The exaltation of Popery was to be regarded as a matter of paramount importance, to which every thing else must give way. Hence the wars of the League in France—the assassination of Henry IV.—the butcheries of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries—and the unceasing attempts made on the government and life of our own Elizabeth, both by foreign powers and domestic traitors, goaded and encouraged by the execrable bull of pope Pius V. Popery fully proved itself to be not only the enemy of christian truth, but also of freedom and national rights. All was to be sacrificed at the shrine of ecclesiastical power. Rome will "sit as a queen." She will allow no co-ordinate authority. She claims to be supreme directress of the nations, and will be

satisfied with nothing less, however expedient it may be for a time to conceal her pretensions and assume the mask of moderation. The exact style of Gregory VII. Boniface VIII. and Innocent III. may not be adopted again, nor their example followed; but the end may be attained as surely by other means. Directly or indirectly, an interference with every government will be sought; and the danger to the rights and consciences of men may not be less imminent, should the pope's influence and authority lose their accustomed force, and intriguing priests take his place. The state of France at the present time may illustrate these observations. Though the thunders of the Vatican have ceased to spread terror as in former ages, the population of that country is almost entirely in the power of the priests, and the foreign policy of the government is evidently the fruit of ecclesiastical influence. The recent aggressions of the French navy in the South Seas, and in Madagascar, prove that the powers of this world are beginning to truckle again to the "man of sin," and selling themselves to work iniquity. Wo unto them! They may make war with the Lamb, and for a time seem to prevail; but in the end he will overcome them, and "break them in pieces as a potter's vessel," for he is "King of kings, and Lord of lords."

In estimating the results of the Reformation, we may consider, in the first instance, the effects

which that revolution has produced on the Romish church itself. The sphere of its influence has been greatly narrowed by the entire subtraction of many powerful kingdoms, and the succession of millions of people in those countries which have tolerated Protestantism. Nor can it be doubted that, even among the faithful children of that corrupt church, there is far less willingness than formerly to submit to priestly domination. Extensive concessions must be made to the spirit of the times, and many things connived at, which would have been promptly suppressed in darker ages. Literature and science, which were before confined to a few learned men, are now universally diffused. Romanists concur in the demand for general education, and co-operate in efforts to extend the blessing. The gross abuses which prevailed among the ecclesiastics, and the shameless abandonment of all correct principle which had rendered them infamous in the eyes of the people, have been to a great extent corrected. The theological errors of Romanism are put forth in a less repulsive form. The startling claims of the papacy to the right of interference in the affairs of the nations are no longer advanced. The pope, as a temporal ruler, is scarcely to be reckoned among European sovereigns, since the *protection* of Austria, the dominant power in Italy, has reduced him to a state of dependance.

Nevertheless, there is no withdrawment of the

obnoxious tenets which the Reformers so successfully opposed. An infallible church cannot admit of change or improvement. It is nearly three hundred years since the Council of Trent was opened, but the dogmas then declared to constitute the creed of the church are tenaciously held to this day. Dominion over conscience, involving the right to persecute, has never been disavowed. The decisions of the fourth council of Lateran are still the law of Rome. The lion is a lion still, though caged and chained. And if liberal principles are professed, and decorous conduct manifested by adherents of Rome resident in protestant countries, it is very different in those parts of the world which are still entirely subject to Romish sway. Gross immoralities among the priesthood, which here in England would expose the individual committing them to public scorn, and deprive him of his place in society, are venial matters in Italy, Portugal, and Spain. There, and in Austria, Popery reigns supreme, enthralling the intellect, debasing the heart, re-enacting the follies of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and striving to perpetuate ignorance and superstition. It is not a nuisance that can be abated: it must be swept from the face of the earth. But that will be the Lord's own work.

It is cheering to turn from this view of the subject to contemplate the benefits accruing to mankind from the blessed Reformation.

While it is confessed that a revival of learning had already taken place, and was happily proceeding, no one acquainted with history can deny that the influence of the Romish church was hostile to its full developement. Free inquiry was inconsistent with the policy of the Vatican. The literati of Europe were checked and repelled at every step. They were constantly venturing on forbidden ground, and giving utterance to prohibited thoughts. The church had interfered with philosophy. It was heresy to maintain even the true theory of the earth's motion! It is heresy still! The persecution of Galileo would have been followed by similar enormities but for its contrariety to the spirit of the age. In a word, if Rome allows her sons to be learned, it is under protest and restraint; they must be tethered to a particular spot, and not venture to stretch beyond the circle she has drawn around them. But she cares not for the mass. For books she gives them images and pictures, and the confessional is her school, where they are taught to become submissive slaves to the priesthood.

How glorious the change produced by Protestantism! The human mind is unmanacled, and may roam at large in the fields of knowledge. Our philosophers pursue their researches without dread of the inquisition. No Index Expurgatorius stands in the way of our authors, threatening to put their works to the ban, and rob them of the fruit of their

labors. Thought is free. Publication is free. Language is free. Protestantism lives and thrives by knowledge, hails its extension with unmingled joy, and promotes its triumphs by all suitable means. The marvellous advancement of literature and science, since the beginning of the Reformation, attests the truth of these remarks. In addition to its co-operating influence on learning in general, the Reformation has created a literature of its own, which has employed the mightiest minds, and opened up the hidden springs of intellect. Biblical criticism has advanced with gigantic strides, solving difficulties which had existed for ages, and clearing the path of interpretation for future travellers. Modern translators of the Scriptures, availing themselves of the labors of their predecessors, have produced versions of surpassing excellence. In practical theology, standard productions of high merit and lasting usefulness are constantly issuing from the press. In all the branches of physical science the career of discovery has been unexampled. Natural philosophy and chemistry, especially the latter, have been cultivated with success far exceeding the most sanguine expectations. The revelations of the nineteenth century have thrown all antiquity into the shade, eclipsing the glory of the venerable men of former days, and exploding systems which had been cherished and admired from time immemorial. Many eminent men, members of

the church of Rome, have assisted in this enterprise, and gained for themselves immortal fame; but, though unconcious, it may be, of their obligations, they have been in fact indebted to the Reformation for the favorable circumstances under which they have pursued their researches. Their church has never encouraged them; she has only refrained from proscription and anathema, in deference to the times. Even this appearance of liberality is confined to those parts of Europe in which Protestantism prevails, or is established. In popish countries, the iron hand of spiritual despotism, aided by the secular power, crushes the rising genius, and snatches from the learner every help to his inquiries which has the least protestant taint. There, too, the population at large is left to grovel in ignorance. But it is the glory of the Reformation, that in this respect especially it is indentified with christianity itself. "To the poor the Gospel is preached." And not only is it preached "publicly, and from house to house;" its saving truths are also communicated to children, who are thus brought up "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord." Thousands have had cause to bless God that the instructions they have received in youth, and the pious impressions produced, have proved their sure safeguard amidst the temptations of the world, and their comfort under its trials. Nor is general information withheld. The works of God are stu-

died, as well as his word. The fountain of knowledge, long sealed, is now open to all classes.*

Freedom is akin to knowledge, and lives and dies with it. When the mind of man is fettered or unenlightened, political thraldom is commonly his fate. He does not understand his rights, and would not know how to seek their attainment. It is the policy of arbitrary governments to withhold their patronage from all measures which are adapted to enlighten and expand the human mind. Now, Popery is friendly to that arbitrary power in the state, which it exercises in the church; and where its influence is unrestrained, free institutions cannot prosper. This assertion cannot be rebutted by an appeal to cases in which popular liberty has been found in conjunction with Romanism, because it is a well-known fact that in all such instances freedom has flourished in spite of popery, not as the result of its influence, and has commonly had to struggle hard for existence against the machinations of the priesthood and

* It has been computed that about a thousand schools, attached to monasteries, were destroyed when those institutions were suppressed in the reign of Henry VIII. But those labor under a great delusion who imagine that the instructions given in monastic schools were of a useful kind, or could be enjoyed by the lower classes. They chiefly consisted of the elements of grammar and church music. The schools were rather nurseries for monks, than seminaries for education. Sound, serviceable knowledge was not communicated: the tutors could not give what they did not possess.

of those who have acted under its dictation. Where, at the present time, are the rights of men most respected, and the benefits of constitutional government most fully enjoyed? Who would prefer, in this respect, Austria or Italy to Great Britain?

Similar observations might be made in reference to general industry, trade, and commerce. Travellers on the continent of Europe point out the marked difference between popish and protestant countries. The frequent occurrence of saints' days, on which partial or entire abstinence from labor is enjoined, is a very injurious interference with industry, producing neglect and idleness, and tending to poverty. The habits of dependence and subjection inculcated by the priests, and sustained by periodical confession, are highly unfavorable to the spirit of enterprise and the efforts of inventive genius. There can be no long-continued league between science and superstition. Again we appeal to history and fact. Where has manufacturing ingenuity been carried to the highest pitch, increasing the demand in proportion to the cheapness of production, and furnishing employment to tens of thousands by the effect of that very machinery which substitutes mechanism and steam for human labor. In what countries is trade in the most healthy state, the middle class of society the most numerous, and in the most prosperous condition? Whose ships are

seen crossing the ocean in all directions, and filling the harbors of the world, freighted with the productions of every clime? Do they chiefly belong to protestant or to popish owners? Are the astonishing inventions and mercantile enterprises which distinguish the present age to be traced to minds which confess the authority of priestly rule, and fear to devise and act but under ecclesiastic correction; or to such as allow no intermeddling of the kind, and rejoice in the free and unbiassed exercise of their powers? It is true, as has been before observed, that Papists share with Protestants the benefits of the world's enlightenment; but it is equally true, that by the Reformation the mind of man was untrammelled and prepared for high achievements. Protestants have ever taken the lead in discovery and invention; they have opened paths to wealth, honor, and national aggrandizement, which other men have been contented to walk in, though not always ingenuous enough to acknowledge their obligations to the first explorers.

These, however important and intimately connected with the well-being of society, are minor matters. The influence of the Reformation on personal piety and the salvation of souls will be regarded by the true christian with still deeper interest. Granting that some few of the priests experienced the power of godliness, and that among them might be found, notwithstanding all

their disadvantages, a remnant who "served God in the spirit," it must be obvious to every impartial person that Popery, as a system, cannot be productive of intelligent and scriptural piety. The state of society in Europe before the Reformation fully justifies this remark. Men cannot "gather grapes from thorns, nor figs from thistles." How delightful was the change witnessed, when gospel truth was once more unveiled to human view, and men were "purged from dead works to serve the living God!" They were not merely convinced of error, they were convinced of sin. They saw the worthlessness and ruinous tendency of those observances in which they had been taught to trust, and "fled for refuge to lay hold on the hope set before them." Receiving the truth in the love of it, they "denied ungodliness and worldly lusts, and lived soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world." They proclaimed the great salvation, sought to deliver their fellow-creatures from refuges of lies, and labored unweariedly, even to suffering, bonds, and death, in the good cause. We know and enjoy the blessed results. Throughout Protestant Europe worship is offered to God in the languages spoken by the people, and all men may read in their own tongues of his wondrous works and ways. Great numbers are Protestants only in a political sense; the profession of many more is nothing better than a worldly profession;

all which, however, is equally true of Romanists; yet there are thousands upon thousands whose holy lives testify that they have been "washed, and sanctified, and justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God." The fruits of their piety are manifest, and their influence is felt, directly or indirectly, in every part of the world.

Who can contemplate the history of the last fifty years without cherishing devout thankfulness to God for the grace which dwelt in Luther, Calvin, Tyndall, Cranmer, and their distinguished associates, producing effects which ultimately issued in the glorious deeds of the nineteenth century? Protestant translators have rendered the word of God into the languages of the heathen. Since the year 1804, fifteen millions of copies of the sacred Scriptures, in whole or in part, have been circulated, in upwards of one hundred and fifty languages. In very many instances the written word has been blessed to the conversion of souls, even when the living voice of the preacher has not been heard. Protestant missionaries have circumnavigated the globe, evangelized the "dark places of the earth," penetrated to the strong holds of idolatry, and planted the standard of the cross where the "god of this world" has maintained for ages his usurped dominion. Cheering success has attended their labors. The once effeminate, licentious Hindoo

walks holily before the Lord. The once barbarous New Zealander sits at the feet of Jesus, "clothed, and in his right mind." The islands of the Pacific are studded with christian churches. The negro rejoices in the liberty "wherewith Christ has made him free." Hottentots and Esquimaux are enlightened, civilized, and sanctified. Burmah, that land of blood, has received the truth; many of its inhabitants have become children of God by faith in Christ. Finally, the message of mercy has been conveyed to the shores of China, nor has it been delivered in vain. Protestant writers are continually preparing useful works, adapted to explain and enforce scripture truth, arouse the careless, instruct the inquiring, and edify the believer. Tracts and books of this character, which are sent forth annually, in vast numbers, to every part of the world, have been productive of incalculable good. By one society only, (the Religious Tract Society in London,) sixteen millions of publications have been issued in one year, every one of which contained the words of salvation. Protestant schools, both day-schools and Sunday-schools, supply scriptural knowledge and wholesome mental and moral discipline to untold myriads of children. Protestant men and women of every class are diligently employed, as God gives them opportunity, in disinterested and zealous endeavors to ameliorate the miseries of their fellow-creatures, and direct

them to the only true source of peace and happiness. Who can estimate the blessings bestowed upon mankind by means of protestant effort since the beginning of the present century? Surely it will be confessed that the Reformation was the severest blow which Satan's kingdom received since the times of the apostles. Of all the calamities which could befall the world, the extinction of the light of Protestantism would be unquestionably the greatest. Under God, the preservation of all that is valuable to us as a nation depends on the maintenance and developement of the principles of the Reformation.

It was not to be expected that a change so great, and so ruinous to papal interests, would be regarded with complacency by Romanists, or that they would suffer it to take place without attempts at prevention. Ever since the event, their utmost energies have been put forth to create a counter feeling, and in fact to represent it as a calamity and a curse rather than a blessing.

Sometimes, in their indiscreet zeal, Romish writers venture upon a denial of historical facts. The thick darkness of the middle ages all at once disappears, and the reader is introduced to an imaginary scene of light and purity. Popes become saints; councils are apostolic gatherings of holy men; monks are paragons of perfection; while the people at large are wise, happy, and pious, and would have remained so, if the wicked

Reformers had not interfered with them, and defaced the loveliness of the prospect! All this is gravely asserted, and eagerly listened to by the credulous. It only wants reality. Stern truth dispels the illusion. Notwithstanding all efforts to prove the contrary, or to conceal unpalatable narratives, it is unquestionably certain that the statements commonly made by protestant writers, respecting the ignorance, the superstition, and the immorality of the periods during which Romish tyranny existed in its full strength, are most fully borne out by records, the credibility of which cannot be impugned.*

* "Can it be said," Mr. Butler asks, "that even in the times of the greatest darkness, the Roman pontiffs were not generally distinguished by superior virtue and superior acquirements?" Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 96. It will be admitted that the tenth century was the time "of the greatest darkness." Baronius says, that "by reason of its asperity and barenness of good it has been wont to be called the *iron* age, and by the deformity of its exuberant evil the *leaden* age, and by its poverty of writers the *dark age*." Speaking of the character of the popes of Rome in that century the same author observes:—"What was then the face of the holy Roman church! How exceedingly foul was it, when most powerful and sordid and abandoned women ruled at Rome, at whose will the sees were changed, bishops presented, and, *what is horrid to hear, and unutterable, false pontiffs, their lovers, were intruded into the chair of Peter, who are only written in the catalogue of Roman Pontiffs for the sake of marking the times!* . . . . . Thus lust, relying upon the secular power, and mad and stimulated with the rage of dominion, claimed every thing for itself. . . . . Christ evidently was in a deep sleep in the ship." Whatever

The dissolution of monasteries has been the subject of many a mournful page. Controversialists would fain persuade us that those buildings were seats of learning, and abodes of piety and virtue; that they diffused peace and prosperity all around them; and that their destruction was an irretrievable misfortune, an act of impious cruelty. Even protestant writers have sometimes made similar representations. It is easy to reply. As for the learning of the monasteries, it consisted, with few exceptions, of an acquaintance with the miserable dialectics of the schools, and the silly legends of supposed saints. Superstitious follies were misnamed piety; vicious propensities of the grossest kind were indulged under the mask of virtue. Instead of poverty and beggary resulting from the demolition of the monasteries, it is a fact which cannot be contradicted, that before the Reformation was known in England, extensive districts were reduced to destitution by the avaricious practices of lordly abbots, who turned large quantities of arable land into pasture for the profit of the wool, razed the habitations of the poor, and even converted churches into sheepfolds, for their gain.

From denial of facts our opponents proceed to defamation of character. The Reformation,

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might be the "acquirements" of the popes of that age. it is evident that they were not men of "superior virtue."

say they, was brought about by immoral men, therefore, it is not the work of God. This is a common and stale calumny. The characters of some of the royal and other personages who protected or patronized the Reformation were not so exemplary as could have been wished. It is not attempted to deny it. Who would screen such a man as Henry VIII? But these men were not the "founders" of the Reformation.* That title belongs only to Luther, Melancthon, Zuingle, Cranmer, Knox, and their holy and noble coadjutors in the blessed work: that *they* were immoral men has never yet been proved, nor ever will be. They were men of God, called by him to protest against an immoral system, and honored as the instruments in his hands of restoring the truth and worship of the new covenant.

Tendencies are next objected to. Some writers have labored hard to prove that Protestantism is unfavorable to liberty; that Popery is opposed to arbitrary power; and that the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and the sinfulness of resisting them, is the "distinguishing badge and glory of the Reformation." A serious refutation of propositions so palpably absurd, so entirely unfounded in fact, is unnecessary. It is proper, however, to remark, that the Reformation was a reli-

* The "founders" of Protestantism are described as "immoral and proud men." Tracts of the Catholic Institute, No. 10, p. 5.

gious, not a political change; and that Protestantism cannot be fairly made answerable for the opinions or practices of its professors, otherwise than as they can be proved to form part of its religious system, or to be its legitimate fruits. If Protestants have ever pandered to tyrants, they are justly censurable, but not *as* Protestants. Their Protestantism had no necessary connection with their politics. This is more than can be said of Popery. The annals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries justify the observation.

Of all the calumnious statements ever put forth against the Reformation, this exceeds the rest in falsehood and malignity—that Protestantism was the parent of the infidelity which led the way to the French revolution. Honor and reverence for the word of God, and its daily use, productive of infidelity! A lie so monstrous might be safely left to its own refutation.* This, however, is a case

* "I do marvel greatly, dearly beloved in Christ, that ever any man should repugn or speak against the Scripture to be had in every language, and that of every man. For I thought that no man had been so blind to ask why light should be showed to them that walk in darkness, where they cannot but stumble, and where to stumble is the danger of eternal damnation; other [either] so despiteful that he would envy any man (I say not his brother) so necessary a thing; or so Bedlam mad to affirm that good is the natural cause of evil, and darkness to proceed out of light, that lying should be grounded in truth and verity; and not rather clean contrary, that light destroyeth darkness, and verity reproveth all manner [of] lying." Tyndall's pathway into the Holy Scripture. Works, p. 377.

for just and indignant retort. No one acquainted with history requires to be informed that Popery, not Protestantism, leads to infidelity. The process is natural and easy. Men are educated in the belief that Popery, as held and practised by its adherents, including all its mummeries, absurdities and idolatry, is christianity in the only authorized and true form. But reason cannot be wholly blinded. The tyranny of the system repels them; its assumptions offend; its fooleries excite their ridicule; its demands on their credulity shock their understandings. First, they waver—then they disbelieve. "If this is christianity," they argue, "the sooner we reject it the better. It is at once too childish and too tyrannical to claim our respect." They become unbelievers, while in innumerable instances they are compelled to conceal their unbelief; thus the guilt of hypocrisy is added to it. Outwardly, they are good catholics; inwardly, they curse their fate, and stand before God as deniers of his truth. Great numbers of the priests are engulphed in this awful ruin. It has been aptly observed that "*infidelity is Popery run to seed.*"

Let us sum up all in a few words. The Reformation has given to the people the Scriptures in their own languages: it restored christian truth, purified christian worship, originated christian education, removed the veil from the minds of men, and unloosed the fetters by which their

consciences were bound. To the influence of this glorious revolution may be traced those astonishing improvements and noble enterprises, by which knowledge had been enlarged and generally diffused, science newly created, useful inventions multiplied, trade and commerce extended, benevolent institutions of all kinds established, freedom preserved, the rigors of criminal law mitigated, barbarous nations civilized, true piety promoted in an unprecedented degree in countries already considered christian, and hundreds of thousands of the heathen, in different parts of the world, savingly converted to God. The wilderness and the solitary place have been glad; and the desert has rejoiced, and blossomed as the rose: it has blossomed abundantly, and rejoiced even with joy and singing. Isa. 35 : 1, 2.

CHAPTER XII.

Exposure of Misrepresentations.

It would be an endless task to enumerate and expose all the misrepresentations contained in the works of popish writers. Their hatred of Protestantism is so fierce, that they seem to have cast off

all regard to truth and honor, and to deem themselves justified in propagating any calumny, however barefaced and malignant, by which the character of the great ecclesiastical change wrought in the sixteenth century may be damaged. If they are to be believed the church of Rome is, and has ever been, gentle and pure; the protector of freedom; the patroness of learning; the friend of the Bible; the nurse of piety. On the other hand, the Reformation is charged with every crime of which fallen human nature is capable, and stigmatized as the greatest calamity that could have befallen mankind. Nothing is wanted (so Romanists affirm) to restore harmony among the nations, correct prevailing disorders, and renew the pristine innocence of society, but the reinstatement of the Romish church in its ancient privileges, power, and preeminence.

In support of assertions such as these, history has been enormously perverted or falsified. A few instances may be adduced, with a view to put Protestants on their guard against popish sophistry and slander.

1. Mr. Butler affirms that England owes her Magna Charta to Popery. Whatever her obligations to that system may be, (certainly they are of a peculiar kind!) a more unfortunate illustration could not have been selected. Magna Charta the gift of the Romish church! Why, the existing head of that church, pope Innocent III. annulled

the grant by a stroke of his pen, as soon as its contents were reported to him, and declared that the barons, by whom it had been extorted from the king, were instigated by the devil! Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 168—Southey's Book of the Church, p. 167.

2. The great John Wicliffe has been foully libelled by popish authors. He has been charged with holding opinions incompatible with the peace and good order, nay, the very existence of civil society. "Few inflammatory writers," says one, "have approached to the seditious excesses of Wicliffe, where he teaches the people, that if they can discover any mortal sin—that is to say, any signal violation of sobriety, chastity, piety, meekness, or humility—in their rector, bishop, magistrate, or sovereign, they are at liberty to disclaim his authority, and depose him if it be in their power; or have, like him, instructed us, that we are not obliged to pay our taxes or our tithes, or to regard any laws or statutes, unless the justice of them can be demonstrated from the Scriptures; or have proclaimed the sinfulness of the clergy possessing any temporal property, and tumultuously called upon the people to assist in despoiling them of it."

If sentiments so monstrous had been really held by the reformer, no terms of reprobation would have been sufficiently strong. His writings would have been deservedly marked with the brand of

infamy. Happily, however, we are fully furnished with the means of repelling the base insinuation. "Were it needful," Dr. Vaughan observes, "it would not be difficult to collect a volume of extracts from his writings, to demonstrate that no doctrine was ever embraced by him in the least degree affecting the legal possession of property. He knew that many things may be lawful, as done by the Supreme Judge, which would be flagrant injustice, as performed by man, except in obedience to a mandate from above; and to illustrate his meaning, he appeals to the case of the Israelites and the nations of Canaan. This distinction, however, which was never absent from the reformer's mind, appears to have wholly escaped the discernment of his accuser. It is true, the churchman convicted of mortal sin he viewed as having forfeited his office. In every such case, the office so degraded, with its jurisdiction and revenue, he would have transferred to other and more worthy hands; and this maxim it was which brought upon him the reproach of favoring the disruption of the social system. To save themselves from the consequences of this projected discipline, the clergy employed every conceivable device to make it appear that the opinions of their assailant were revolutionary novelties, which must apply to civil no less than to ecclesiastical offices, and prove as perilous to the possessions of the laity as to those of the church.

"It is in the following language that Wicliffe complains of the injury thus done to himself and his followers. 'Prelates slander poor priests and other christian men, saying, they will not obey their sovereigns, nor fear the curse, nor keep the laws, but despise all things that are not to their liking; and that they are therefore worse than Jews or pagans; and that all lords, and prelates, and mighty men, should destroy them, or else they will destroy holy church, and make each man to live as him liketh, and nothing may more destroy Christendom.' In meeting these serious charges, it is admitted that 'the fiend moveth some men to say that christian men should not be servants nor vassals to heathen lords, since they are false to God, and less worthy than themselves. Neither should they be such to christian lords, since they are brethren in kind, and Jesus Christ bought christian men on the cross, and made them free.' In reply, however, it is observed that 'the apostles Peter and Paul have written against this heresy in God's law,' and their various lessons on obedience to magistrates are so explained as to favor a submission which, if faulty at all, is so from excess. Conscious of injury, it is with becoming feeling he remarks, 'Yet some men who are out of charity, slander poor priests with this error, namely, that servants or tenants may lawfully withhold rents and services from their lords, when lords are openly wicked in their living. And they

invent this treacherous falsehood against poor priests, to make lords to hate them; and not to maintain that truth of God, which they teach openly for his honor, for the profit of the realm, for the establishing of the king's power and the destroying of sin.' He afterwards exposes the sophistry by which the enemies of the poor priests frequently succeeded in procuring a currency of this slander among the laity. 'The feigned reasoning of the clerks of antichrist is this:—if subjects may lawfully withhold tithes and offerings from curates who live in open lechery, or in other great sins, and do not the office, then servants and tenants may lawfully withdraw their service and rents from their lords, who live openly an accurs ed life.' In answer to this it is stated, that 'men are charged of God, by St. Peter and St Paul, to be thus subject to *wicked lords;* and therefore Christ paid tribute, for himself and his apostles, to the heathen emperors. Yet we read not that he, or any apostle, paid tithes to the *wicked high priests*, after the time that he began to preach.'" Life of Wicliffe, ii. 271–274.

3. The Rev. J. Waterworth states that it is a fact to which history bears testimony, "that there was no restraint on the Scriptures before the Reformation." Historical Lectures on the Reformation, p. 145.

Were the fact as the writer alleges, it would render little service to his cause, since it would

only prove that while the Scriptures existed only in manuscript, and were therefore out of the reach of the people at large, they were not prohibited, simply because, being used by so few persons, the dangerous effects of their use attracted no notice. When, by the efforts of the Reformers, the word of God was restored to its just estimation, it was soon extensively circulated, and then its influence was found so prejudicial to the Romish cause, that restrictive enactments were forthwith issued, and rigorously executed.

But the statement made by Mr. Waterworth is wholly contrary to fact. The reading of the Scriptures was discountenanced, and as far as possible prevented, in all countries which acknowledged the pope's authority. In the year 1229, at the council of Toulouse, over which a papal legate presided, it was expressly decreed that the laity should not be allowed to possess any portion of the Scriptures. They might, if they greatly wished it, "have the Psalter, or the Breviary for the divine offices, or the Hours of the Blessed Virgin:" but even these might not be had in the vulgar tongue. And in 1514, when articles of accusation were exhibited against Richard Hunne, by order of Fitzjames, then bishop of London, in order to blacken him as a heretic, and thereby stifle an inquiry into the mode of his death, (he was cruelly murdered in prison,) the last article was, that in the prologue to his Bible

"he defended the translation of the Bible and the Holy Scripture into the English tongue, *which is prohibited by the laws of our most holy church.*" Concilia, (Labbe and Cossart,) xxiii. 197. Foxe's Acts and Monuments, ii. 13–25.

4. The same writer affirms, that no prohibition of reading the Scriptures "was heard of in England until the Reformation."

Either Mr. Waterworth is ignorant of the history of his own country, or he calculates on the ignorance of others. If the first supposition be correct, he should have refrained from obtruding himself on the public as an author; if the second, the nefariousness of his endeavor cannot be too indignantly exposed.

In the year 1408 a convocation of the clergy of the diocese of Canterbury was held at Oxford, under the presidency of archbishop Arundel, by which it was enacted and ordained, "that no one hereafter do by his own authority translate any text of Holy Scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of book, libel, or treatise; and that no one read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wicliffe, or since, or hereafter to be composed, in public or in private, in whole or in part, under pain of the greater excommunication, until the said translation be approved by the diocesan of the place, or, if occasion require, by a provincial council." Concil. (Labbe and Cossart,) xxvi. 1038.

Seven years after a law was passed (no doubt under the influence of the same prelate) which is thus adverted to in the language of the times :— "In the said parliament," (held at Leicester,) "the king made this blasphemous and most cruel act to be a law for ever :—That whosoever they were that should read the Scriptures in the mother tongue, (which was then called Wicliffe's learning,) they should forfeit land, cattle, body, life, and goods, from their heirs for ever, and be condemned for heretics to God, enemies to the crown, and most arrant traitors to the land. Besides this, it was enacted that never a sanctuary nor privileged ground within the realm should hold them, though they were still permitted to thieves and murderers. And if in case they would not give over, or were after their pardon relapsed, they should suffer death in two manner of kinds; that is, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then be burned for heresy against God, and yet neither of both committed."

Hunne's case has been already mentioned. Longland, bishop of Lincoln, prosecuted many persons in the year 1521 for possessing and reading the Scriptures in English. Townley's Illustrations of Biblical Literature, ii. 79–81, 238–242.

Every one acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of England well knows that for a hundred and fifty years before the Reformation the

Lollards were mercilessly persecuted, and that among the crimes laid to their charge, the reading of the Scriptures is continually alleged. It *was* regarded as a crime, a great crime, and was punished as such. To deny the fact is worse than useless. The audacity of such attempts to impose on the ignorance or forgetfulness of the public, can only be equalled by the folly of the expectation that the guilt would be undetected.

5. It is not often that we detect such an amount of misrepresentation in a few lines, as is found in the following paragraph. "At the Reformation . . . . education was discouraged in every possible manner—was allowed only to the rich, and positively forbidden to the poor, as a most dangerous and pernicious article."

An uninformed reader would suppose, if these statements are correct, that education was more general before the Reformation than after it. Such a supposition, however, is entirely contrary to fact. That great numbers of persons resorted to the principal universities of Europe during the latter part of the middle ages, is admitted. But the mass of the people were still immersed in gross ignorance. Vernacular literature scarcely existed, learning being confined to the Latin language, with which the poorer classes were necessarily unacquainted. Besides this, the quality of the learning acquired is much more to be considered than the number of scholars. The students

of the times now referred to, wasted their energies in busy and profitless trifling, rather than in gaining useful knowledge.

That at the Reformation the benefits of education were "allowed only to the rich, and positively forbidden to the poor," is a base, unfounded calumny. It is indeed true, that Henry VIII. in the latter part of his life, when he was more under the influence of the Romish priesthood, at the instigation of Gardiner and others, discouraged the reading of the Scriptures, and re-established some of the most obnoxious tenets of Popery; but the acts of an individual are not to be charged upon the system he has adopted, unless they can be proved to be its natural fruits; and in this instance it is evident that the contrary inference to that drawn by our opponents is the just one. The English monarch was liberal as long as he listened to the Reformers: as soon as popish principles regained their sway, he relapsed into the bigotry of the system. Let popery bear the blame.

If in some instances education suffered a temporary check, it was not owing to any adverse interference employed by the Reformers, for both their interest and their inclination led them to encourage learning, but to the disturbed state of society resulting from the opposition to the new movement, or to other causes over which they had no control, among which the spoliation of the monasteries may be mentioned, the revenues

of which should have been appropriated to ecclesiastical and educational purposes, as in Switzerland and other parts of Europe. As soon as they could obtain sufficient influence, they exerted themselves in favor of popular instruction. Their own works, commonly written in the vulgar tongue, contributed to the promotion of this object, by exciting a more general desire for the attainment of the art of reading. Their cause, too, rested on public opinion, which they were anxious to secure by the enlightenment of the public mind. Popery produced a blind devotion, by withdrawing the means of information from the people. Protestantism sought to connect faith with knowledge. Before the Reformation learning was regarded as hostile to religion, and therefore discountenanced by the bulk of ecclesiastics; since that event, it has been esteemed, at least by Protestants, as the handmaid of piety, and deserving universal encouragement.

6. That Luther engaged in the controversy about indulgences, under the influence of interested motives; because the publication and sale of those indulgences were intrusted to the Dominicans rather than to his own order, (the Augustinians,) which had till then, as has been affirmed, enjoyed the privilege, is a stale calumny, and has been often exposed. An impartial writer would not have revived it. But Dr. Lingard has the hardi-

hood to assert, in the teeth of the clearest evidence to the contrary, that Luther was only the "agent" of Staupitz, vicar-general of the Augustinians, and that he "eagerly undertook the task assigned to him by the zeal or the envy of his superior." History of England, vi. 91.

The true history of the transaction has been already given. It has been clearly shown, that Luther's opposition to indulgences was excited by their interference with his duties as confessor, and the discipline which he held himself bound to maintain. Neither is it true that the Augustinians considered themselves ill used by the appointment of the Dominicans. So far from being deprived of an honor which they had long enjoyed, it had never yet been conferred upon them. In the present instance, the Dominicans were not selected for the purpose, as a more favored order, the offer having been first made to the Franciscans, who declined it.

7. Romanists have expatiated with great complacency on Luther's supposed account of his conference with the devil, during which, it is said, Satan suggested to the reformer the chief arguments against the mass. "See," say they, "the devil prompts the opposition to the mass! The Reformation is the work of the devil!"

It is proper to set this matter in a clear light.

"As soon as Luther had convinced himself that the *sacrifice* of the Lord's supper was unscriptu-

ral, and therefore impious, he began to reflect with terror on the consequences which seemed to threaten himself. He had been continually engaged since the hour of his ordination, a space of fifteen years, in perpetrating that impiety, and in leading others into the same abomination. Could he hope for mercy at the hands of his Judge? Was his ignorance a sufficient excuse for his sin? Could he now make any atonement for it? Or must he regard himself as already lying under irrevocable condemnation?

"His soul was vehement and his belief earnest. The melancholy tendencies of his temper were increased by ill health, by solitude, by the gloom of surrounding objects. Hence those fierce agitations of soul, those convulsions of the entire spiritual man, which in the eye of reason and philosophy are indeed extravagant and absurd; but which may nevertheless be the extravagance of noble qualities, and allied to the purest motives that can influence human actions. Under such circumstances of internal disorder and irresolution the tempter presented himself to the heart rather than to the eye of Luther; and, in the design of urging him to utter despair, suggested to him five arguments. These are distinctly stated by the writer; and their object was, to prove to him that the office of the sacrifice, in which he had been so long and so devoutly engaged, was in irreconcilable opposition to the institution of Christ. The temptation

was one of terror: if his new opinion were true, to what penalties might he not be liable for the impieties perpetrated during his error! And thus a wish that it might not be true, a partiality for his original belief might be roused in opposition to his reason, through a sense of everlasting peril." Waddington's Hist. Ref. i. 398–400.

It is to be observed—First, That Luther's conviction of the impiety of the mass was not produced by this supposed conference with the devil, but already existed. Secondly, That he does not say "the devil appeared to him," but describes an internal conflict—"Satan commenced a disputation *within my heart.*" Thirdly, That the tempter is not represented as endeavoring to persuade him into a belief that the mass was idolatrous, but rather as laboring to drive him to despair for having persevered so long in the performance of an impious service. "You know that for fifteen years together you celebrated private masses; what then if such masses were a horrible idolatry? You have had no knowledge of God, nor true faith. You have been no better than a Turk." "Convicted by the law of God," Luther says, "I confess before my adversary that I had sinned, and was condemned, like Judas; but I turn me to Christ, like Peter; I regard his infinite merit and mercy; and immediately he abrogates all my dreadful condemnation."

We do not wonder that Seckendorf, Luther's

biographer, should indignantly exclaim, "They who affirm that Luther acknowledged himself to have been convinced by the devil that the mass was no sacrifice, are guilty of a palpable and gross falsehood." Scott's Continuation of Milner, i. 549.

8. Speaking of the decree of the Diet of Spires, A. D. 1529, and of the memorable protest against it, whence originated the designation "Protestant," Dr. Lingard says, "This instrument displays in strong colors the intolerance of the first Reformers. The decree, among other things, forbade any person, layman or ecclesiastic, to employ violence or constraint in matters of religion, to abolish the mass by force, or to prohibit, command, or compel any one to assist at it. They replied, that they could not consent to this article; that conscience forced them to abolish the mass; nor would they permit any of their subjects to be present at it." History of England, vi. 270.

An unpractised reader would necessarily come to the conclusion that the Edict of Spires was tolerant, and the protest intolerant: or, in other words, that the Papists who enacted it were in favor of liberty of conscience; and the Protestants, who resisted it, opposed to that liberty. Exactly the contrary is the fact. The Edict expressly prohibits all further changes in matters of religion till the assembly of a general council, enjoining obedience meanwhile to the persecuting Edict of

Worms; it permits, indeed, the continuance of Protestant worship in those places from which it could not be expelled without occasioning great tumults and disorders, that is, very sagely advises the Papists to be quiet when their opponents were the strongest party; but at the same time it requires that every one should have the opportunity of attending mass, and that provision should be made for that purpose. Instead of being a liberal decree, it was essentially anti-reforming, and was no doubt designed to prevent the further progress of Protestantism. So the protesting princes and states understood it. They were to be prevented from following the light which had begun to shine upon their path; and whereas the idolatry of the mass had been for just causes abolished in their several dominions, and the scriptural mode of celebrating the Lord's supper substituted for it, they could not conscientiously employ their power in restoring that which they held to be contrary to the word of God.

It is not necessary to defend every position taken by the Reformers of the sixteenth century, nor to approve all their maxims. If they were intolerant to those who differed from them, Rome had taught them the lesson. But let them be fairly represented. To say of a papistical, persecuting edict, that it "forbade to employ violence or constraint in matters of religion," and *on that account* was opposed and protested against by the heads of the

reform movement, is little better than telling a lie for the cause, or "doing evil that good may come." The Edict of Spires is given at length by Le Plat, ii. 301–321.

9. Dr. Wiseman mentions several Italian versions of the Scriptures, executed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and among them that of Bruccioli, published A. D. 1532. He says, "Every one of these came out, not only with the approbation of the ordinary authorities, but with that of the inquisition, which approved of their being published, distributed, and promulgated." Lectures, i. 53. But he does not add, that when the index of prohibited books was published by the authority of the Council of Trent, A. D. 1564, Bruccioli was placed among heretics of the first class, none of whose works, of any kind whatsoever, are allowed to be possessed or read! To say nothing of the other prohibitions of the Bible in the vernacular tongues.

10. We are not desirous of becoming apologists for Henry VIII. Yet the fierceness with which he has been assailed by the adherents of the papacy is sufficient proof that something more than a regard to truth has induced them to speak so bitterly of him and his proceedings. In fact, he is not forgiven for dismembering England from Rome, and depriving covetous priests of the rich prizes with which this country had for so many ages supplied them. It is on that account that the mention

of his name becomes the signal for the pouring forth of the bitterest venom. True or false, it matters not; it is always right in the eyes of Romish authors to blast the reputation of this monarch.

In this spirit Dr. Lingard has retailed the old slander that Henry seduced Mary, Anne Boleyn's sister, in the early part of his reign. He must have known that the only authority for this statement is the unsupported assertion of Pole, in his treasonable book *De Unitate*. When he adds, in another place, that Henry cohabited with Anne three years before he married her,* he produces no proof, nor has he any to produce. It is altogether his own unwarrantable surmise; a gratuitous calumny; an unmanly attack; such an attack as none but a popish priest would venture to make. It has been justly remarked, that "we are often tempted to censure when we ought to be forbearing; though the more we ourselves become what we ought to be, we are less acute and less gratified in marking or mentioning the failings of others. But there are so many characters whose flagrant delinquencies compel the writer to exhibit them like moral anatomies, to deter unprincipled selfishness from a pernicious imitation, that every right feeling calls upon us not to criminate in other cases without certainty, or to suspect where the

* History of England, vi. 110 and 188. See also Sharon Turner's History of the Reign of Henry VIII. ii. 430–432.

suspicion has neither evidence nor necessity." History of Henry VIII. ii. 199–206.

11. Of all the murders committed under the pretence of religion, that of Anne Askew who suffered July 16, 1546, was one of the most atrocious. Yet Dr. Lingard is not ashamed to pen insinuations intended to destroy the character of that martyr; and, by impeaching her integrity, to lessen the abhorrence with which her sufferings must be regarded by all persons of humanity and right christian feeling. History, p. 352.

He says that she "had abandoned her husband to exercise the office of an apostle, under her maiden name of Askew." The reader will judge how far this historian's statements are worthy of credit, when he is informed that Kyme, Anne Askew's husband, was a worthless man and a bigoted Papist. He persecuted her for her religion, and when he found that he could not induce her to return to Popery, turned her out of doors.

Anne Askew's examinations are related by herself. She expressly states, that when she was in the Tower, the lord chancellor Wriothesley, and Rich, a member of the council, "took pains to rack her with their own hands till she was nigh dead;" and Foxe adds some particulars further explaining and confirming the narrative. The Romanist historian says: "To me neither story appears worthy of credit. For (1.) Torture was contrary to law, and therefore was never inflicted without

a written order subscribed by the lords of the council. (2.) The person who attended on such occasions to receive the confession of the sufferer, was always some inferior officer appointed by the council, and not the lord chancellor or other members of that body. (3.) There is no instance of a female being stretched on a rack, or being subjected to any of those inflictions which come under the denomination of torture."

This attempt to throw discredit on a plain testimony is utterly unworthy of a writer of Dr. Lingard's reputation. The martyr either uttered truth or a lie. What inducement could she have to invent a tale which, if it were not true, would be exposed as soon as it was published? And why was it not contradicted at the time? Bale's account of Anne Askew's martyrdom, including her own narrative, was published in less than three years after the event, and some time before Wriothesley's death, which occurred in 1550; so that he had ample opportunity to contradict it, had he been able to do so. But he was not able.*

"That she was racked," bishop Burnet writes, "is very certain; for I find it in an original journal of the transactions of the Tower, written by

* Fuller says, "Whether it was noble in these lords, or legal in these lawyers, or conscientious in these chancellors," (Rich was made chanceller after Wriothesley's death,) "to rack one already condemned to death, belongeth to others to determine." Church History, v. 242.

Anthony Anthony." History of the Reformation, i. 619. That the lord chancellor and Rich inflicted the torture with their own hands, is positively asserted by the sufferer herself; nor is there any just ground for doubting her veracity.

The reasons assigned by Dr. Lingard for demurring to the truth of the account may be very soon and easily disposed of.

(1.) Though torture was not according to law, it is a matter of fact that it was not unfrequently inflicted. That Campion and other Romish priests were racked, with a view to extort confessions, cannot be questioned. Dr. Lingard would not have us doubt it.

(2.) The peculiar circumstances of the case satisfactorily account for the presence of the parties on this occasion. They were both members of the council; and, being firmly attached to Popery, were just then busily engaged in endeavoring to criminate the queen, Katherine Parr, and compass her ruin, as a favorer of heretics. Anne Askew had received kindness from her, and was besides known to be on terms of intimacy with many of the ladies of the court. If they could force from her any communications which might be used with effect against the queen, their object would be materially furthered. It was too delicate an affair to be intrusted to inferior officers. The chancellor and his creatures were, therefore, not unwilling to become the instruments of the

fiendish barbarity. The fullest account of this transaction is in Foxe's Acts and Monuments, ii 488. Ed. 1684.

(3.) Dr. Lingard's historical recollections have failed him. He might have supposed that those who could burn women, would not shrink from racking them. But there are other modes of torture besides the rack, and which have been equally inflicted for the purpose of wringing confessions from the miserable objects of cruelty. A refusal to plead to an indictment, formerly subjected the accused person to the horrible punishment of pressure by heavy weights, which was certain and speedy death, unless the refusal was recalled. A lady of the Romish persuasion, named Clithero, was punished in this way in the time of queen Elizabeth. Challoner's Memoirs of Missionary Priests, p. 95. But even if there had been no instance of a female being "subjected to any of those inflictions which come under the denomination of torture," except that of Anne Askew, her narrative would not be invalidated thereby. Let it be granted that no similar barbarity is recorded in our annals: that it is a solitary case, without precedent, and without imitation. Then the brutal beings who perpetrated the outrage stand alone. They have attained an eminence which no other persecutor, at least in England, has reached. And the system which hardened their hearts and strengthened their hands for the villany, has been

aptly characterized as the "masterpiece" of him who is characterized in Scripture as "a murderer from the beginning."

12. Dr. Lingard states, that in the early part of Mary's reign, Elizabeth, afterwards queen, was converted to Popery "in the short course of a week;" and that, to prove her sincerity, she "opened a chapel in her own house, and wrote to the emperor for leave to purchase, in Flanders, a chalice, cross, and the ornaments usually employed in the celebration of the Catholic worship." History, vii. 135.

That Elizabeth outwardly conformed to popish rites, is undeniable; but it is equally certain that her conformity was the result of compulsion. She yielded to save her life. A sister's hand would have been imbrued in her blood, had she continued to refuse compliance! She attended mass with the utmost reluctance, and went as seldom as possible. As to the assertion that she "opened a chapel in her own house," there does not appear to be a particle of truth in it. She had already her private chapel, into which she unwillingly introduced the heathenish ceremonies of Rome. There is no reason to believe that she opened a chapel for the purpose. Sharon Turner's Modern History of England, iii. 415–418.

13. The inhuman execution of three women in Guernsey, in July, 1556, has been always adverted to in terms of indignant reprobation, as far ex-

ceeding in diabolical cruelty the ordinary manifestations of Romish vengeance against heresy. Foxe's narrative being impugned by the Jesuit Harding, the martyrologist re-examined the whole case, adduced corroborative evidence, and published the legal documents. Notwithstanding this, however, Dr. Lingard has the hardihood to avow his disbelief; and, as usual, seasons his denial with calumny. "I have no doubt," he says, "that the women were hanged as thieves, and afterwards burned as heretics; that no one knew of the pregnancy of one of them, a woman of loose character, and that the child was found dead in the flames after the body of the mother had fallen from the gibbet. The rest we owe to the imagination of the martyrologist, or of his informer." History, vii. 376.

Such readers of the doctor's history as are unacquainted with other sources of information, or place implicit confidence in his integrity, will necessarily retain a very unfavorable impression respecting the character of these much-injured females; and, in fact, of protestant martyrs generally. But what, after all, is the true statement? That Katherine Kawches, and Guillemine and Perotine, her daughters, having been charged with a trifling felony, were acquitted of the charge, but remanded to prison on an accusation of heresy; that they were examined by Amy, dean of the island, assisted by his curates, pronounced

heretics, and delivered to the secular power, that they were sentenced to be strangled, and then burned; that the rope breaking, they were cast alive into the fire, where Perotine was delivered of a male child, which fell out of the burning pile, and was thrown back into it by one of the attending officers; and that Perotine, instead of being "a woman of loose character," as Dr. Lingard most maliciously and groundlessly affirms, was the wife of David Jous, a christian minister, to whom she had been married in the reign of Edward VI. Six years afterwards, Matthew Kawches, brother of the slandered woman, memorialized queen Elizabeth on the subject, and prayed for an investigation of the affair. Inquiry being instituted, it was ascertained that the whole process was illegal; the dean was imprisoned and deprived, and the civil authorities by whom the sentence had been executed, sued out a pardon in the queen's court. Still Dr. Lingard disbelieves! and not content with disbelieving, he misrepresents and calumniates! This, and the case of Anne Askew, are full and fair specimens of the misrepresentations as to protestant martyrs by modern and ancient popish historians.

14. The name of the duke of Alva is connected with bloodthirsty vengeance and cruelty of the most appalling character. The wretch boasted, that during the war in the Low Countries he had delivered 18,000 persons to the executioner, be-

sides those who had perished in the field of battle. Wherever he went, terror marched before him, and desolation followed his steps. But he was a good Papist, and the victims of his barbarity were godless heretics. This redeems him from censure. Dr. Lingard can sketch the history of the revolution in the Low Countries without once adverting to the abominations which have consigned their author to infamy; and Dr. Milner, while he affects to condemn and execrate "the sanguinary vengeance of the Spanish governor," seeks to extenuate his guilt by referring to the "provocations" he had received from the "seditious" Protestants; labors to make it appear that his violences were reprisals for deeds of a similar kind; and quotes a "celebrated biographer," who says that Vandermerk, one of the generals in the service of the prince of Orange, "slaughtered more unoffending Catholic priests and peasants in the year 1572, than Alva executed Protestants during his whole government." The intent of this falsehood is to persuade us that Alva was a slandered man, and that Protestantism is more barbarous than Popery.

These are positions too monstrous to require exposure and refutation. No well-informed person has any doubt on the subject, nor would it have been introduced in this place but for the pertinacity with which such statements are still brought before the public. Let it be understood, then, that the insurrection in the Low Countries,

which were at that time in the possession of Spain, was caused by the tyranny and extortion of the government, by which the unhappy people had been for years most grievously oppressed. They did not resist till they were stung to madness by their wrongs. The rising was not an exclusively protestant movement, though the deliverance of the Protestants from persecution was one of its objects. All classes and persuasions united in resolving to shake off the Spanish yoke, and after many a hard struggle succeeded in the attempt. It is not to be denied that on some occasions the victorious soldiery copied the example of their popish predecessors, and massacred unoffending persons. But that such actions were approved by the leaders of the enterprise is notoriously false. As soon as the prince of Orange was informed of the excesses of Vandermerk, he ordered him to be dismissed from the service, nor could he ever appear again in the country which he had polluted with his deeds. His agent, a man who seems to have taken pleasure in works of blood, was delivered up to the vengeance of the law, and publicly executed.

Brandt has some sensible remarks on this subject. He says: "Four things are to be observed. (1.) The Protestants were not the aggressors. It is certain that the Catholics began by treating the reformed in a most barbarous manner: they hung them, beheaded them, drowned them, buried them

alive, burned them. (2.) For one Catholic put to death by Protestants, hundreds, or rather thousands of Protestants were slain by Catholics. (3.) The cruelties exercised among the Protestants resulted from the brutality and fury of the soldiers; the magistrates and divines had nothing to do with them. Not so with the cruelties of the Catholics: the magistrates and the clergy were the authors of those cruelties. (4.) The protestant magistrates, so far from approving the violence of the soldiers, did all they could to repress it, and even punished with death several persons, simply for having killed Catholics." To this it may be added, that persecution is the cherished child of Popery; but whenever Protestants have availed themselves of the dark alliance, it has been in opposition to their avowed principles. Whether adopted by Papists or Protestants, it is an impious thing—the first-born of hell. See Histoire Abregée de la Reformation des Pais-Bas, i. 211.

15. Romanists are justly charged with intolerance, in treating all persons as heretics who differ from themselves, and invoking the aid of the civil power, whenever practicable, to put down alleged heresy. But "we know of no such doctrine," observes a writer in the Dublin Review: "we repudiate it as a calumny of the most malignant description." Dr. Kelly, then titular archbishop of Armagh, gravely asserted before a committee of the House of Commons, that "in order to con-

stitute a heretic, *contumacy in error* concerning matters of faith is necessary. By contumacy," he added, "I mean a refusal on the part of an individual to embrace doctrines necessary to salvation, after having had a sufficient opportunity of being convinced of their truth." And "how are we to know," it is asked, "who is, or who is not, contumacious? Who of us has the power to dive into the heart of his fellow-man, to read his thoughts, to discover whether, if we sought and found what we believe to be the truth, he would obstinately reject it? Without this power, which belongs to God alone, no man who is not rendered vicious by an extraordinary degree of presumption, can venture to say of another, 'That man is a heretic.'" All this sounds very charitable and kind. We have been mistaken, no doubt. The awful word "heretic" was never meant to apply to us. True, we reject the *novelties* of Rome, and brand the whole system as anti-christian. But "who has the power to dive into the heart of his fellow-man?"

It seems a pity to unmask this apparent charity. Yet we must not be deceived by fair words. Nor can we allow modern Papists to substitute their own individual opinions or interpretations for the published doctrines of their church. "A person is not to be called a heretic," say the compilers of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, "so soon as he errs in matters

of faith," well knowing that if this were done many would bear the name who are still permitted to retain their communion; "then only is he to be so called, when, in defiance of the authority of the church, he maintains impious opinions with unyielding pertinacity."* But is not every Protestant in this predicament? The fact of his Protestantism stamps him at once as a heretic. These nice distinctions are never thought of at Rome. The "holy apostolic church" does not wait to inquire whether there is "contumacy" or not The publication or profession of opinions adverse to her decrees is sufficient to call down her vengeance. More than six hundred years ago she denounced all heretics in solemn council, and doomed them to extermination. (The General Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215.) She has never altered. All her sons declare their adherence to the decrees of the general councils, among which that just mentioned is one, and uniformly regard as heretics all who bear the Protestant name. Her "Index Expurgatorius" expressly condemns as "heretics of the first class" all our best writers. Her fires would consume them still, if she dared to light the flames again. To affirm that the denouncement of destruction to heretics is only "a species of admonition, which, even if he wished it," the

* Catechism of the Council of Trent, translated by the Rev. J. Donovan, p. 91.

Papist, "could not, consistently with his religion, carry into effect," is to fly in the face of all authority, and utter deliberate falsehood. At best, it is a miserable subterfuge, intended to hide the naked, hideous fact. Meanwhile, since they cannot just now burn us, they are content with adjudging us to perdition. The little child is instructed to believe that we wretched Protestants have nothing but misery before us. We are infallibly destined to "hell for all eternity." Abstract of Douay Catechism, p. 71. And then, when we charge them with a persecuting spirit they turn round and exclaim, "Oh, but we only refer to the contumacious. And how can we determine who the heretic is?" Away with such hypocrisy!

16. Speaking of the "extension of printing," a writer asks, "Was not its utility utterly neutralized, or rather, was it not rendered pernicious, by the censorship of the press, which existed by statute or prerogative from the time of Henry VIII. till after the Revolution, and was exercised with a strictness and severity quite in character with the principles of the established church?" It is not our present business to pass judgment on the policy of an age which was just emerging from the midnight darkness of popery. The spirit of the old system remained long after its forms had been abolished. Popish habits retained their hold upon men who had abjured popish doctrines

nor is this surprising, since the love of power is congenial to our depraved hearts, and its wanton exercise has peculiarly distinguished ecclesiastical affairs. But to the question before us. The incorrectness, to say the least, of the statement just quoted, is easily shown.

(1.) During the period under notice, that is, from A. D. 1526, when Tyndall's translation of the New Testament was published, to A. D. 1688, the era of the Revolution, the following English authors flourished, and their works were freely circulated, notwithstanding the "censorship of the press," to the great advantage of the community :—Sir Thomas More, Linacre, Cranmer, Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, Jewell, Foxe, Leland, Ascham, Sir Philip Sydney, Hooker, Shakspeare, Spencer, Camden, Gataker, Harvey, Lord Bacon, Chillingworth, Lightfoot, Mede, Usher, Jeremy Taylor, Ainsworth, bishop Hall, Cave, Walton, Prideaux, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, Bunyan, Owen, Baxter, Howe, Stillingfleet, bishop Beveridge, Charnock, Flavel, Pool, Locke, Algernon Sydney, Wilkins, Barrow, South, Tillotson, Ray, Selden, Boyle, and many others. These works still exist, and speak for themselves.

(2.) During the same period, the index of prohibited books was repeatedly published at Rome. The edition issued by command of pope Innocent XI. in 1681, is now before the writer. It contains the names of the following authors, the perusal of

whose works, in whole or in part, is expressly forbidden to all members of the Romish church :— Lord Bacon, Bale, Beza, Walton, Robert Stephens, Turretin, Bucer, Buchanan, Bullinger, Buxtorf, Calvin, Cartwright, Castalio, Chemnitz, Coverdale, Copernicus, Casaubon, Cranmer, Daille, Erasmus, Grindal, Perkins, Guicciardini, Grotius, Farel, Tyndall, Whitaker, Heidegger, Savonarola, Hospinian, Hottinger, Huss, De Thou, Usher, bishop Hall, Tremellius, Polydore Virgil, Bradford, Brentius, John Foxe, Hooper, Jewell, Knox, Ecolampadius, Sleidan, Wicliffe, Scapula, Scaliger, Justus Jonas, Latimer, Luther, Melancthon, Melchior Adam, Meno Simon, De Mornay, Sarpi, Jerome of Prague, Sir Thomas Browne, Claude, Sanderson, Henry Stephens, Zuingle, Vossius : and it prohibits the perusal of all versions of the Holy Scriptures made by alleged heretics, and of all notes and commentaries on the Scriptures written by them; of all their catechisms and confessions of faith; and of all books, by whomsoever written, whether Papists or Protestants, teaching the motion of the earth round the sun.

The reader will now be enabled to decide which is most "pernicious :" the censorship of the press, during the existence of which the writers first mentioned conferred benefits so great and manifest upon their country; or the Romish index, in whose pages they and very many more

are proscribed, and whose fatal restrictions continue to deprive the members of the papal community of the advantages they might derive from an acquaintance with such valuable productions. They suffer themselves to be frightened by the bugbear of imagined heresy. It is hard to say whether such submission to priestly rule deserves pity or contempt.

17. Romish writers persist in affirming that the Papists executed in queen Elizabeth's reign suffered solely for their religion, and that therefore those executions were so many acts of persecution for conscience sake. Lingard's History, viii. 290, 295, &c. A more flagrant perversion of historical truth cannot be imagined. It is a fact which no impartial person thinks of denying, that in those unhappy times popery and treason were fast linked together. All ecclesiastics, from the man who occupied the papal throne to the lowest ranks of the priesthood, were sworn foes to Elizabeth. Her deposition and murder were the objects of their earnest desire and constant endeavor, being commanded by a papal bull, recognized by every Romanist as an authority not to be questioned. The Seminary priests in particular, and the Jesuits, vied with each other in malice, and exerted all their influence to stir up the laity to deeds of treason and blood. The statutes by which their crimes were punished were severe, it is confessed, but necessary. Every one of them

might have been entitled, "An act for the protection of the queen's person and the preservation of her life."*

This disclaimer of treason is modern policy. The parties immediately concerned did not venture to put it forth. At the Hampton Court conference, in 1603, when Dr. Reynolds applied for the suppression or restraint of unlawful and seditious books, reasons were given for permitting their circulation; and, among others, the lord treasurer remarked that the books had this use, "namely, that now *by the testimony of those priests themselves*, her late majesty and the state were cleared of the imputation of putting papists to death for conscience only, SEEING IN THOSE BOOKS THEY THEMSELVES CONFESS THAT THEY WERE EXECUTED FOR TREASON." Sharon Turner, ut sup. i. Preface, xii.

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* "To be at that time a Catholic, and to think Elizabeth an usurper, and Mary the rightful queen, and to desire to have a Catholic sovereign on the throne of England, were inseparable circumstances. There was not perhaps one member of the Romish Church in Europe who had other sentiments. Their pope and hierarchy in all its branches held and taught unvaryingly such opinions. That it would be meritorious to depose Elizabeth, and that it was meritorious to conspire and to exert themselves to do so, became a regular inference from these opinions in the Romish church, and was zealously inculcated by its priesthood and agents on all their adherents; nor did such tuition fall at that time on averted ears." Sharon Turner's Modern History of England, iv. 342.

The Reformation from Popery is one of those events which cannot fail to be contemplated by the christian with deep interest and fervent gratitude. God did then evidently interpose on behalf of the long-oppressed church of Christ. The appearance of gifted men eminently qualified for the great work, in different parts of Europe and at the same time, together with the success which attended their labors, notwithstanding the dreadful persecutions to which they were exposed, strikingly displayed the power and goodness of that great Being who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working." Long had he heard the cries of the "souls under the altar" pleading for the cause of truth. At length he arose, in his might and in his mercy, to vindicate the honor of his word, and restore his worship to its first purity. The results far exceeded the hopes of the pious, while unutterable dismay seized "the armies of the aliens."

It is of great importance to distinguish between the religious and the political aspects of the Reformation. In its origin and progress, so far as regarded itself, it was wholly a religious movement. It was a great conflict between truth and error, between carnality and spiritual-mindedness—a glorious revival of religion. If some of the royal and noble personages by whom it was befriended deemed it right and necessary to take up arms in defence of the cause, and to

give it the support of worldly policy, so that Protestantism and Popery became the rallying-points for hostile parties; that result, and any political consequences, are not to be regarded as an effect of the religious principles of the Reformation, which like those of the New Testament, are principles of peace and holiness. Assuredly, Papists have no right to criminate the Reformation on this account, since they have never scrupled to employ violent measures for the accomplishment of the purposes of Rome, and have even inculcated the use of fire and sword for the suppression of what they call heresy, as a solemn and meritorious duty.

The truths for which the Reformers contended demand our most zealous support. Those holy men pleaded for Christ; for the honor of his finished work, which Popery had thrown into the shade; and for his supremacy in the church, which had been for ages practically denied. Among the "forgotten truths" which they brought to light, the doctrine of *justification by faith* held the first place, and was ever associated in their minds with scriptural views of the necessity and fruits of the Holy Spirit's influence. They taught the people, that without engagedness of heart in the service of God, all outward acts of worship are unacceptable and profitless. They denounced the manifold inventions of superstition, as opposed to the simplicity of the New

Testament ritual, and tending to divert the mind from the contemplation of truth, and to delude men into a belief of their worthiness in the sight of God. They affirmed the entire sufficiency of Scripture, as the rule of faith and practice, boldly asserting the right of private judgment, unshackled by deference to fathers or councils. They directed their keenest shafts against the idolatry of the popish system, exposing in strains of irresistible argument, or powerful satire, the folly and impiety of saint-worship, and the vanity of the confidence placed in saintly intercession; they taught men to present their prayers and praises to God, through the Lord Jesus Christ, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, in full assurance of obtaining the blessings implored.

Truth is not local or temporary. Apostolic principles cannot become obsolete. The way in which *we* ought to "walk and please God," is the same as was prescribed to the first churches. Our souls must be sustained in duty or in trial, by the truths and promises which comforted the christians of those times. Like them, we must "live by the faith of the Son of God;" Gal. 2 : 20; we must "worship God in the Spirit, and rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh;" Phil. 3 : 3; as risen with our victorious Lord, we must "seek those things which are above." Col. 3 : 1. In order to all this, there must be diligent study of the Scriptures, careful comparison of

their diversified yet harmonious statements, and earnest prayer for the teaching of the Holy Spirit, that we may not only "read," but "mark, learn, and inwardly digest" the words of the Lord, and experience their blessed effects. These are privileges to be enjoyed by all believers, without distinction, as well as duties to be performed by them. No system can be scriptural which interferes with the enjoyment of the privilege, or discourages the discharge of the duty. Popery does both. It robs the christian of his freedom, and Christ of his glory. We are mercifully delivered from the mental and corporeal tyranny and bondage of Popery. May we be also preserved from all views and practices which have a popish tendency! "To the law and to the testimony." "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God." Isa. 8 : 20; 1 John, 4 : 1.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REFORMATION.

A. D.

1384 Death of Wicliffe, December 31.

1401 Martyrdom of William Sautre.

1417 " Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.

1482 Birth of Ecolampadius.

1483 " Luther, November 10.

1484 " Zuingle, January 1.

1489 " Farel.

" Cranmer, July 2.

1494 " John Taussen.

1497 " Melancthon, February 16.

1499 " John Laski.

1505 " Knox.

Luther entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt, August 17.

1507 Ordination of Luther, May 2.

1509 Birth of Calvin, July 10.

1511 Luther's journey to Rome.

1512 Luther made doctor in divinity, October 9.

Justification by faith taught by Lefevre in the University of Paris.

1516 Publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus.

The Gospel preached by Zuingle at the convent of Einsidlen.

1517 Publication of Luther's Theses against indulgences, October 31.

1518 Appearance of Luther at Augsburg before cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate, October 7.

Luther's appeal from the pope to a general council, November 28.

Zuingle appointed preacher in the cathedral of Zurich, December.

A. D.

1519 Interview between Luther and Miltitz at Altenburg, January.

Publication of Luther's Commentary on the Galatians, October.

1520 Bull of condemnation issued against Luther by the pope, June 15.

The Bull publicly burned by Luther at Wittemberg, December 10.

1521 A second and more decisive Bull issued against Luther, January 3.

The Gospel preached in Sweden.

Publication of Henry the Eighth's book on the Seven Sacraments.

Arrival of Luther at the Diet of Worms, April 16.

Luther's abduction to Wartburg, April 28.

Publication of the Edict of Worms, May 26

Death of Leo X. December.

1522 Inquisitors sent by Charles V. into the Netherlands. Numerous martyrdoms there.

Publication of Zuingle's first book, On the Choice and Free Use of Meats, April 16.

Marriage of Zuingle.

Publication of Luther's reply to the book of Henry VIII. on the Seven Sacraments, July 15.

Publication of Luther's translation of the New Testament. September.

Publication of the document called "The Hundred Grievances," Germany, November 25.

Publication of the French New Testament by Lefevre.

1523 Martyrdom of Henry Voes and John Echt at Brussels, July 1.

Ecolampadius appointed professor of divinity at Basle.

Martyrdom of Leclerc at Metz.

1524 The Danish New Testament published.

The Gospel preached by Taussen at Wibourg.

A. D.

1524 Images removed from the churches at Zurich by the authorities, June.

Suppression of the mendicant orders at Zurich, Dec.

Tracts printed at Basle and circulated in France by colporteurs.

1525 Publication of Tyndall's New Testament.

The New Testament and some books of the Old Testament published in the Helvetic dialect.

French version of the Psalms published.

The mass abolished at Zurich, April 11.

Marriage of Luther, June 18.

The convents opened at Basle.

1526 The Swedish New Testament published.

The Belgic Bible published.

The disputation of Baden, May 16.

The disputation at Upsal.

1527 Images removed from the churches in various parts of Switzerland.

1528 The great disputation at Berne, and triumph of the Reformation, January 7.

Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, at St. Andrews, February 29.

1529 The Reformation completed at Basle.

Martyrdom of Louis Berquin at Paris.

Edict of the Diet of Spires. Protest of the Reformers —whence they were called *Protestants*, April 20.

Conference between Luther and Zuingle at Marburg, October.

John Taussen appointed preacher at the church of St. Nicholas, Copenhagen.

1530 The Diet of Augsburg opened, May.

The Protestant Confession read before the Diet at Augsburg, June 25.

The Recess of the Diet published, November 19.

The League of Smalcald, December 31.

1531 Death of Zuingle at the battle of Coppel, October 11.

A. D.

1531 Death of Ecolampadius, November 23.

1532 The Gospel preached at Geneva.
Payment of annates to the pope forbidden in England and transferred to the king.
Cranmer appointed archbishop of Canterbury.

1533 Marriage of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn.

1534 The pope's power taken away in England. The king constituted head of the church.

1535 Many martyrdoms in France, January.
The Reformation established at Geneva, August.
Coverdale's Bible published, October 4, and ordered to be placed in churches.

1536 Calvin's Institutes published.
Anne Boleyn beheaded, May 19.
The lesser monasteries suppressed in England.
Death of Erasmus, July 12.
Calvin settled at Geneva, August.
Tyndall burned at Antwerp, September.
The Reformation established in the Pays de Vaud.

1537 Papal Bull issued against Henry VIII.

1538 Calvin and Farel banished from Geneva.

1539 The Reformation established in Denmark at a meeting of the states at Odensee.
The act of the Six Articles, July 1.
The larger monasteries suppressed in England.
The "Great Bible" published.
Martyrdom of John Lambert, November 20.

1540 Marriage of Calvin.
Publication of the Icelandic New Testament.

1541 The Swedish Bible published.
Calvin returned to Geneva. The Presbyterian discipline established there, September.

1542 Knox embraced Protestanism.
Synod of Piotrkow, in Poland. The Reformation opposed.

1543 The Reformation established in Frieseland by John Laski.
The reading of the Scriptures forbidden in England to all but the higher orders.

A. D.

1543 The circulation of the Scriptures permitted in Scotland.

1544 A portion of the Liturgy translated into English.

1545 Massacres of the Vaudois at Cabrieres and Merindol by order of the French king.

The Council of Trent opened, December 13.

1546 Death of Luther, February 18.

Martyrdom of Wishart at St. Andrews, in the presence of cardinal Beaton, March 1.

Martyrdom of Anne Askew, July 16.

1547 Death of Henry VIII. January 28.

Commencement of Knox's public labors at St. Andrews.

The first book of Homilies compiled. The persecuting acts of Henry the Eighth's reign repealed. Communion in both kinds established.

1548 The Council of Trent suspended, March 11.

Images removed from the churches in England. The Book of Common Prayer published. Priests permitted to marry

1549 Beza settled at Lausanne.

1550 Form of English ordination settled.

Martyrdom of Nicholaus, rector of Kurow, Poland.

The Danish Bible published.

John Laski settled in London.

1551 The Council of Trent re-opened, May 1.

1552 English Articles of Religion published. Act of Uniformity passed.

The Council of Trent suspended a second time. April 28.

Polish New Testament published.

National Diet in Poland. Sundry reforms enacted

1553 John Laski left England.

Death of Edward VI. July 6.

Popish bishops restored. King Edward's laws repealed

1554 Marriage of queen Mary with Philip of Spain, July 25.

England reconciled with Rome by cardinal Pole, Nov. 30.

The acts against heretics revived by the English Parliament.

A. D.

1555 First protestant church formed in France on the Genevan model.

Lippomani, a papal legate, sent to check reform in Poland.

The pope's power restored in England by Act of Parliament.

Martyrdom of John Rogers, February 4.

" of bishop Hooper and Saunders, Feb. 8.

" of Dr. Taylor, February 9.

" of bishop Farrar, March 30.

" of Bradford, July 1.

" of Ridley and Latimer, October 16.

1556 " of Cranmer, March 21.

John Laski returned to Poland.

Diet of Warsaw. Nobles permitted to introduce what form of worship they pleased in their own houses.

Protestant congregations established in Edinburgh and other parts of Scotland.

1557 Martyrdom of Angelus Merula, at Mons, July 27.

The first Solemn League and Covenant framed in Scotland, December 3.

1558 Martyrdom of Walter Mill, an aged priest, at St. Andrews, August 28.

Five martyrs, the last in Mary's reign, burned at Canterbury, November 15.

Death of queen Mary, November 17.

1559 The Reformation settled in England under queen Elizabeth.

First National Synod of the French Reformed church, at Paris, May 20.

University of Geneva established.

Arrival of Knox in Scotland. Monasteries destroyed by the populace, at Perth, St. Andrews, and other places.

Civil war in Scotland on account of religion.

Martyrdom of Anne Dubourg, at Paris, Dec. 15.

1560 Death of John Laski, January 8.

Death of Melancthon, April 19.

A. D.

1560 Peace restored in Scotland.
Protestant Confession of Faith received by the Scotch Parliament, August 17.
The jurisdiction of the pope abolished in Scotland, August 24.

1561 Death of John Taussen, November 9.
Colloquy at Poissy, September.
The First Book of Discipline, compiled by John Knox, and approved by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

1562 The Council of Trent re-opened the second time, Jan. 18.
Massacre of a congregation of Huguenots, at Vassy, March 1.
Commencement of the civil wars in France on account of religion, April.

1563 Belgic Confession of Faith published.
The last session of the Council of Trent is held, Dec. 4.
The Polish Bible published.

1564 The Jesuits introduced into Poland.
Death of Calvin, May 27.

1565 Death of Farel.

1566 The Reformation established in many parts of the Netherlands.

1567 The duke of Alva sent into the Netherlands. Horrible barbarities perpetrated by him.
The Reformation finally settled in Scotland under regent Murray, December.
Publication of the Welsh New Testament.

1570 The "Consent of Sandomir"—a union between the three Protestant Confessions of Poland.
Papal Bull issued, excommunicating and deposing queen Elizabeth.

1572 The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, at Paris, August 24.
Death of Knox, November 24.

A. D.	
1573	Diet of Warsaw. Equality of rights and privileges granted to all parties in Poland.
	The duke of Alva recalled from the Netherlands, and succeeded by Requesens.
1577	The pacification of Ghent, November 8.
1580	The Seminaries of Louvain and Douay founded.
1585	Bull of Sixtus V. excommunicating and depriving the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé.
1588	Martyrdoms at Paris.
	The Spanish Armada.
	The Welsh Bible published.
1593	Henry IV. abjured Protestantism, July 25.
1595	The Jesuits expelled from France, January 9.
1596	Henry IV. absolved by the pope, September 17.
1598	The Edict of Nantes published. April 7.
1610	Assassination of Henry IV. by Ravaillac, May 14.
1685	Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. October 18.

THE END.

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